ELIZABETHAN SCHOOLDAYS

27 JUN 1934

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THAME GRAMMAR SCHOOL

An unaltered Elizabethan building of 1569. The masters' rooms are on the right, the usher's on the left; the central door leads through a small hall into the schoolroom, one window of which can be seen on the left.

ELIZABETHAN SCHOOLDAYS

An Account of the English Grammar Schools in the second half of the Sixteenth Century

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PREFACE

THIS book has grown out of the author's work on the history of Thame School and a desire to vizualize exactly what went on in Elizabethan schoolrooms. It therefore aims at giving a comprehensive account, at once readable and accurate, of the conditions prevailing in the Grammar Schools, more particularly during the second half of the sixteenth century, with special emphasis on the human side. It has been assumed that no great alteration in conditions occurred before the Civil War, so that illustrative material of this date has been used without hesitation where convenient.

It will be evident to the most casual reader how much use has been made of Professor Foster Watson's *English Grammar Schools to 1660* for details of curriculum and text-books, and of A. M. Stowe's *English Grammar Schools in the reign of Queen Elizabeth* on the administrative side, both storehouses of information and of references: and also of Brinsley's *The Grammar School* as an invaluable authority on the current theory and practice of teaching. Details of the actual life in the schoolroom, however, must be sought in the school statutes and the various colloquies, in illustrations to lesson books and the seals of schools, in scenes from contemporary plays, and in the reminiscences of the pupils themselves, as recalled in their memoirs and autobiographies. In this last connection, the author is indebted to Professor J. W. Adamson for a number of useful references.

The main sources used are sufficiently indicated in the bibliography, and in the table of schools to whose statutes reference is made: it is chiefly to avoid overloading a small book with a multitude of footnotes that only the most general indications of sources have, as a rule, been given. It is hoped that all actual quotations are given between inverted commas: and the author wishes to tender his apologies to any writers whose words have escaped this acknowledgement. To facilitate reading, the spelling has everywhere been modernized, and Latin passages usually translated; sums of money can be converted into their approximate modern equivalents by multiplying by twelve.

While the book will be of interest primarily to the schools immediately concerned, being popular enough to find a place in their libraries, it is expected that it will also prove of service to general students of the period, and particularly to students in training at the universities, in connection with their work on the History of Education.

THAME. J.H.B.

April 1933.

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CHAPTER I

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

1. The Founders

THE monumental *New English Dictionary* defines a Grammar School as 'one founded in the sixteenth century or earlier, for the teaching of Latin,' so that it is at once evident that the expression is a technical term of very definite meaning and restricted scope, which cannot properly be applied to modern schools, whether under public control or conducted for the private profit of their proprietors, though many have arrogated the title to themselves. It is therefore greatly to be regretted that certain Education Authorities have in recent years perpetuated a serious historical error; for no school of recent foundation can possibly be a grammar school; and it is in very proper protest against this misuse of the term that the real Grammar Schools have taken to using their founders' names.

The use of the term in English dates only from the end of the fourteenth century; but essentially all English schools from the Conquest to the Civil War were grammar schools, and those 'public schools' which are of any antiquity differ in their origin and aim in no essential respect from the others. The Tudor foundations differed from the mediæval schools not so much in curriculum (which began, continued and ended in Latin), as in aim and method. The acquire-

ment of Latin grammar was ceasing to be so much an end in itself as a necessary, if long and tedious, and to most, painful introduction to the only literature then worthy of the name: while the invention of printing started the change-over from oral to written methods, with less dependence on the memory and more on the intelligence. The transition from the scholastic to the humanistic theory of education was, however, a very slow process.

These mediæval schools are divided by Leach into seven classes, according to the kind of institution with which they were connected, and out of whose funds they were maintained. The oldest schools were attached to cathedrals; and hence it is that King's School, Canterbury, and St. Peter's, York, are (fitly enough) rival claimants to the honour of being the oldest existing school in the country, tracing their history back, with reasonable continuity, to the sixth and seventh centuries. Then there were schools connected with the monasteries, of which typical cases occurred at Evesham and Bruton; and with hospitals, like that of St. John the Baptist, Banbury, a once famous school which disappeared during the sixteenth century. The college schools began to arise late in the thirteenth century: this class includes two of the nine great 'public schools,' with a continuous history of five centuries which is unique in Europe, Winchester (long the pattern on which others were modelled), founded by William of Wykeham in 1382, and Eton, the creation of Henry VI in 1440. Of the guild schools, a well-known example is that of the Holy Cross, Stratford-on-Avon, which Shakespeare

must have attended; but by far the most numerous were the chantry schools, in which as a rule, the chantry priest occupied his spare time in teaching. In addition, there were a few fortunate independent schools, of which Sedburgh is an example, with their own separate endowments, which they managed to retain through the perils of the Reformation.

The earliest prominent schools to be founded under the influence of the Renaissance (say, during the first half of the sixteenth century) were St. Paul's, by Dean Colet, in 1510, and Ipswich by Cardinal Wolsey in 1527: but the bulk of the grammar schools, including five of the nine 'public schools'—which had at that time only a limited and local fame: Shrewsbury (1552), Westminster (1560), Merchant Taylors' (1561), Rugby (1567), and Harrow (1571)—date from the second half of the century, and are amongst the most immediate and characteristic consequences of the Reformation.[1]

The suppression of the chantries and the failure to re-endow most of their schools under Edward VI made necessary numerous refoundations to supply their place; and even so late as 1562, Thomas Williams (the Speaker) called the Queen's attention to the fact that 'at least a hundred were wanting which before this time had been.' It is on account of these refoundations that the Tudor sovereigns, and especially Edward VI, have received much undeserved credit as patrons of learning; for the numerous King's (i.e., Henry VIII) schools, and Edward VI's and Queen Elizabeth's Grammar Schools, far from implying any

[1] The ninth, Charterhouse, was not founded until 1612.

contributions on the part of those monarchs to their cost, show at most acquiescence in their continuance at the petition of the town or district concerned, and (usually) in the allocation of a considerably reduced income for their maintenance. Funds bequeathed for their benefit were usually intercepted by the cupidity of some courtier or local landowner, and the amount of the endowments lost to education in this way during the Reformation can never be estimated. In all, some seventy or eighty existing schools claim an origin earlier than 1500; but in view of these changes of endowment it is difficult to decide in how many instances any historical or legal continuity exists. The term 'founder,' therefore, would in most cases be more accurately 'benefactor,' since the chantry certificates, and wills, title deeds, and other earlier documents often show the previous existence of schools which were placed on a surer footing by adequate endowment.

The wealthy merchants of London, roused to a sense of duty by the appeals and protests of divines like Thomas Lever, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, rose to the occasion; and they form the most numerous group of such 'founders,' so that by 1581 Mulcaster could write that 'already during the time of her Majesty's most fortunate reign, there have been more schools erected than existed before her time in the whole kingdom.' These men before the Reformation would most probably have endowed chantries in their parish churches for the benefit of their own souls; but now they found a better outlet for their piety in providing for the grammar schools in their native towns, for the welfare of future generations. To

restore the local grammar school became the fashion; and amongst this goodly company of merchant founders are men like Lawrence Sherriff (Rugby) and Thomas Chipsey (Northampton), grocers; John Royse (Abingdon) and Sir Thomas Gresham (Holt), mercers; Peter Blundell (Tiverton), clothier; Sir Andrew Judd (Tonbridge), skinner; and Richard Platt (Aldenham), brewer. It will have been already evident how large a share was taken by Churchmen, and to those already mentioned may be added Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury (St. Bees), Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's (Middleton, near Manchester), and Robert Johnston, Archdeacon of Leicester (Uppingham). But yeomen, gentlemen, and nobles vied with royalty and the church in showing their zeal for learning: and it must be remembered that in many cases corporations and parishes subscribed to raise the necessary funds for the building and endowment of their schools.

Definite details of two Elizabethan foundations may here be given, Thame and Sandwich being frequently quoted in these pages from the fullness and interest of their statutes. Lord Williams of Thame, who lived at Rycote near by, had been one of the commissioners for Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire under the Chantries Act: no man had a more detailed knowledge of the educational facilities of those counties. Since Thame was without a grammar school, he left by will, in 1559, the rents of certain houses and lands to 'erect a free school in the town of Thame, and to find and sustain with the profits thereof a schoolmaster and an usher for ever.' Building began in 1569, and the first

master began teaching on November 29, 1570. The executors themselves administered the income for the first few years; but in 1575 the statutes were printed, and the endowment was made over to the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford, who for three centuries administered the funds and appointed the masters (who were invariably fellows of the college), subject to the approval of the Founder's descendants.

At Sandwich,[1] however, one of the three priests of the chantry of St. Thomas the Martyr in St. Peter's Church was bound 'to teach and instruct the youth of the town.' 'Time had utterly worn out' the old school building; so on the suppression of the chantry and loss of its income of 47s., the citizens of Sandwich, with the active co-operation of Archbishop Parker, raised in 1563 (in amounts of £20 downwards) the sum of £286 7s. 2d. for the purpose of building a new school, which Sir Roger Manwood, of Hackington, near Canterbury, sergeant-at-law, promised to endow with lands for its support, the mayor and jurats forming the governing body. The new school was built in 1564, 'much fairer and better built than the other, but situate in a worse and more corrupt air by reason of the annoyance of the marshes and ooze near unto the same'; the statutes were drawn up in 1580. The 'founder,' who died in 1592, himself received the rents and paid the salaries out of them, as did also his son, Sir Peter; but the grandson, Sir John, converted the funds to his own use. Eventually in 1633 the governors got a decree, with arrears and damages, by which the income was to be paid to them in the future.

[1] See Boys' *History of Sandwich*.

2. Number and Distribution

The grammar schools of Elizabethan England were thus very numerous and certainly exceeded 300. Leach estimates the number at the end of the fourteenth century as 400, and gives 200 of these as being known to exist at the Reformation, the probable total at that date being 300; while Stowe gives a list of 343 in Elizabeth's reign, to which further research has added 18, bringing the total existing about 1600 to 361, of which number 107 are now extinct. This tallies with Harrison's statement that 'there are a great number of grammar schools throughout the realm, and those very liberally endowed, for the better relief of poor scholars, so that there are not many corporate towns now under the Queen's dominion that have not one grammar school, at the least, with a sufficient living for a master and usher appointed to the same'; for he states the number of cities as 26 and estimates the market towns as from 300 to 400.

Of the 361 schools mentioned above, London has 11 and Bristol 3; while six cathedral cities (Gloucester, Lichfield, Oxford, Rochester, York, Worcester) are credited with two each. The remainder are fairly evenly distributed over the country, with a tendency to concentration in the home counties, following roughly the general distribution of population at the time. It is a little difficult to arrive at the ratio schools to population; but assuming the latter to be a trifle over $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, there was a school for every 12,500 of the population. This is less than Leach's estimate of 1 : 8,300 in 1546, but compares favourably with the

figure 1 : 23,750 given in 1864 by the Schools Inquiry Commission.

The numbers attending these schools naturally varied considerably according to their locality and reputation. Easily the largest was Shrewsbury, 'wherein were more scholars in number when I first saw it than in any one school throughout all England,' says Camden. Under Ashton the numbers increased from 266 in 1562 to 360 in 1581 ; there were over 800 admissions in six years. Stowe lists six others over the hundred mark, all of which but one (Tiverton, 150), are in or near London. These are Merchant Taylors' (250) ; St. Paul's (153), St. Saviour's, Southwark (100), Berkhamsted (144), and St. Alban's (120) ; and to these may be added Christ's Hospital, whose grammar school apparently contained 157 boys in 1581, and Guildford, where the numbers were not to exceed 100. If the large schools are excluded, the remaining schools on Stowe's list contained an average of 42 boys each, the larger proportion ranging from 40 to 60. It must be remembered, however, that these numbers are often those to which the schools were limited by statute, so that it by no means follows that they were always reached. The oldest surviving admission registers are those of Shrewsbury (1562) and Rivington (1575) : the Winchester registers date no further back than 1653.

It would appear reasonable, therefore, to estimate that some twelve thousand boys were being educated in the grammar schools at this period, which is one in 375 of the population, as compared with one in 180 to-day. These figures at least indicate very clearly a

widespread interest in learning, and there can be no doubt about the popularity of the classical curriculum provided; it will be seen later how the schools attracted boys of all classes (rich as well as poor), and that boys from the surrounding country attended as well as those from the town.

3. Aims

This popularity of the grammar school curriculum, especially after the Reformation, was largely due to the religious bias given by the study of the 'Holy Languages' of the Scriptures, and especially of Latin; it was to the grammar schools that the nation looked to furnish champions to confute Catholic scholars in the religious disputes of the day, and it is to their pupils that the country owes the noble Authorized Version of the Bible. Though the curriculum and text-books dealt mainly with the classical authors, the main stimulus to their study was definitely religious; and this is reflected in the motives of the great majority of founders as set forth in their statutes. 'My intent is by this school specially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children,' declares Dean Colet; while the founder of Witton is still more explicit—for, after repeating Colet's words, he adds, 'forasmuch as God's glory, His honour, and the wealth public, is advanced and maintained by no means more than by virtuous education, and bringing up of youth under such as be learned and virtuous schoolmasters, whose good

examples may as well instruct them to live well, as their doctrine and learning may furnish their minds with knowledge and cunning.' Similarly, Sandwich was founded 'for the godly education of children in the knowledge and fear of God'; and at Guisborough, the 'master shall teach freely . . . grammar, honest manners, and godly living.' The religious note predominates even in cases where founders profess in addition educational, philanthropic, and even political motives.

The main educational aim was, of course, the acquisition of Latin, both as a living tongue, and as the language of the Vulgate. Ability to read Latin provided the student, in the absence of a vernacular literature, with the key to all the knowledge of the age; while facility in speaking it enabled him to communicate in an international language with scholars of other countries. 'All over Europe, the ability to write good Latin prose was a passport to official life, and to what would to-day be called the higher Civil Service and diplomacy,' says Professor Adamson; 'fashion . . . decreed that good Latin meant Ciceronian Latin, and the schools proceeded to teach a very marketable accomplishment.' Leach is even more emphatic: 'The diplomatist, the lawyer, the civil servant, the physician, the naturalist, the philosopher, wrote, read, and to a large extent spoke and perhaps thought in Latin. Nor was Latin only the language of the higher professions. A merchant, or the bailiff of a manor, wanted it for his accounts: every town clerk or guild clerk wanted it for his minute book. Columbus had to study in Latin for his

voyages: the general had to study tactics in it. The architect, the musician, everyone who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman wanted, not a mere smattering of grammar, but a living acquaintance with the tongue, as a spoken as well as a written language.'

A keen master with an eye for 'results' would no doubt see a further attraction in the added credit to himself and his school resulting from fitting as many as possible of his pupils for the university at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The estimate of 3,000 students[1] at Oxford and Cambridge in the middle of Elizabeth's reign seems rather high, being a quarter of the school boy population, and averaging eight or nine per school: even Lawrence of Shrewsbury mustered only some hundred undergraduates at the universities in twelve years. It is evident, therefore, that the grammar schools cannot have supplied more than perhaps two-thirds of the undergraduate population.

Yet, had they but known it, schoolmasters who turned deaf ears to Mulcaster's pleading for the teaching of English would soon have to abandon their cherished convictions that there was only one study worthy of the attention of a scholar, and that cultured thought could be adequately expressed only in the classical languages. Soon they would have to turn their hands to teaching the mother tongue they so disdained; their own pupils were even then helping in the production of a literature destined to surpass that of Greece and Rome; and the very need which the schools were founded to supply was already passing away.

[1] *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, V., 363.

4. Income

The provision made by the founders for the fulfilment of such lofty and extensive aims seems in these days small enough; and even when the difference in the value of money is taken into account, it costs from five to ten times as much to run a modern school as it did its Elizabethan counterpart. But as the only real essentials were a schoolmaster and a schoolroom, the salaries of the master and usher formed by far the largest item on the accounts, running expenses for books and birches, and on repairs and cleaning being very small by comparison.

Few if any schools could boast of an endowment exceeding £50: the average of thirty-seven schools collected by Stowe is only £18, varying from just over £3 to just over £45, a common sum being £20. This was by no means a mere pittance, but an entirely adequate amount for the purpose. Some schools were supported by annuities, and others by rents from estates, the former, in any case tending to yield a smaller sum, have, owing to the depreciation in the value of money, long since proved insufficient. On the other hand, however, lands which originally just maintained the schools have increased so greatly in value through the growth of towns in their vicinity as to make their fortunate owners very wealthy. Thus, at Birmingham, an original income of £21 from the rents of houses and pasture now produces over £30,000; a few acres half a mile out of London, belonging to Rugby, which at the time let for £8, fetched £5,000 as long ago as 1865; while from thir-

teen acres in Holborn, Bedford received £3,000 in 1766, an amount which had doubled fifty years later. The great majority of schools have not been so fortunate, having been compelled in most cases to sell their birthright to the local Education Authorities; the original £47 at Thame, for example, is now hardly worth its equivalent in modern money. Interesting cases of unusual endowments occur, e.g., at Manchester, which was supported by the proceeds of two corn mills and a fulling mill on the river Irk; and at St. Alban's, whose income was derived from the profits on the sale of wine licences by the city corporation.

In the general scramble for wealth amongst those who shared in the spoils of the monasteries, not a few schools were involved in lawsuits over the collecting of their incomes. Thus, Thame had in 1592 to spend over £150 (more than three years' income) in order to establish its right to rents constituting three-quarters of its revenue; and similarly at St. Bees by 1629 the master had vainly spent £200 in the effort to recover the rent of some property in Croydon. Considerable endowments have been lost from time to time in consequence of the failure or neglect of governing bodies adequately to defend such suits.

Although the grammar schools were nominally 'free,' almost all of them had entrance fees, which were commonly 4d., 8d., or 12d. Boys from the immediate locality, and those who were of the founder's kin, were often exempt: frequently, as at Harrow, fees were charged to 'foreigners' only, or these were charged at a higher rate, while at Shrewsbury the

admission fees varied from 10s. for a lord's son to 4d. for the son of a burgess in the town. In addition, most schools had capitation fees, when again boys from the town or parish paid less than those coming from a distance; these fees were most frequently from 6d. to 1s. to the master per quarter, and half as much to the usher, though some large schools charged more, as e.g., at Merchant Taylors', where in some cases the fee was as much as 5s. a quarter. Such fees were originally voluntary offerings made by boys' parents or friends at the end of term, to show their appreciation of the master's services and ability, and perhaps learning. Such was, for example, 'cock-penny,'[1] a gratuity given to the master in the north of England at Shrovetide; and capitation fees were an attempt to standardize so laudable a custom.

While, therefore, such fees were normally additions to the stipends of the master and usher, in some cases the whole or part of them was allocated to some definite purpose, such as sweeping and cleaning the school, or keeping up the stock of books. Thus at Guildford, the yearly fee of 8d. was to be spent as follows: 1d. a quarter towards providing brooms and rods (!), and 4d, at Michaelmas, 'wherewith shall be bought clean waxen candles to keep light in the school during the winter.' In some schools, there was an additional source of income in fines for unnecessary absence; but in no case did the fees cover the cost

[1] This was probably a substitute for bringing the cock itself, and applied to defray the expenses of cock-fighting; but the custom lasted well into the nineteenth century, when e.g., so late as 1860 it was usual at Sedburgh to pay £1 to the Master and 10s. to the Second Master on Shrove Tuesday.

of tuition, which was met almost entirely by the endowment; and to this extent only could the schools be considered 'free.' In fact, it is evident from the foregoing that a boy's parents would usually have to pay from 3s. to 6s. a year for his schooling, representing a sum not so widely different from that charged by many schools to-day. As Leach says, 'Entrance fees and all sorts of extras and luxuries, such as fires, lights, candles, stationery, cleaning, and whipping might have to be paid for; but a "free school" meant undoubtedly a school in which, because of the endowment, all or some of the scholars, the poor, or the inhabitants of the place, or a certain number, were freed from fees for teaching.'

5. Buildings

Not infrequently, at any rate at first, school was held in the parish church, in some aisle, porch, or chapel; typical examples are the Chapel of the Holy Ghost in the churchyard of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, and the lady chapel at the east end of St. Alban's abbey church, but the practice was forbidden by statute in 1595. When Shakespeare makes Malvolio allude to 'a pedant who keeps a school in the church,' he was probably thinking of his own schooldays at Stratford-on-Avon, when school was held in the guild chapel during repairs to the school building; though the phrase may have been suggested by St. Olave's, Southwark, near his theatre. Buildings specially erected as schools were often close to the parish church, and frequently adjoined the churchyard, which then served as a play-

ground for the pupils; and the size naturally varied according to the numbers contemplated. At Winchester, the original schoolroom, intended for 80 boys, was roughly 45 feet by 30 feet, while a larger and later school like St. Paul's (153) measured 122 feet by 33 feet. Other large schoolrooms were, Tiverton, 100 feet by 24 feet; Manchester, 96 feet by 30 feet, and Shrewsbury, 80 feet by 21 feet; but an average-sized schoolroom was some 50 feet to 60 feet long by 20 feet to 25 feet broad, which by modern standards would hold perhaps some fifty to eighty boys.

School buildings were of varying degrees of complexity; a simple building of one room sufficed in many cases, while others provided accommodation for master and usher. Their rooms were usually on opposite sides of the schoolroom, either in a line with it, as at Sandwich, or at right angles, as at Thame; while a more complicated arrangement round a central courtyard is to be found at Guildford. Such schools often had attics for the accommodation of boarders, and cellars for storage of fuel; Berkhamsted was specially famous, 'the whole building is so strong and fair that the like grammar school for that point is not to be seen in the whole realm of England.' Surrounding the whole was a high stone wall with a separate gate for the boys' entrance, enclosing a yard in front of the schoolhouse, and a garden and orchard behind for the master. Though statutes might direct, as at Thame, that 'the use and products of the orchard and garden be assigned to the master alone,' or at East Retford, 'the master to have two parts of the profits of the said orchard and garden, and the usher to

have the other third part of the same,' it must have afforded the human boy of the sixteenth century peculiar gratification to rob his master's orchard, encouraged thereto (no doubt) by the picture at the end of his grammar representing little boys in the branches of a huge tree (intended as the tree of knowledge), picking the abundant fruit. In these days, he would doubtless have 'seen it on the pictures.'

The cost of such a schoolhouse as has been described varied considerably, and may have been anything between £100 and £300. The last is the limit fixed by the founder of Harrow, whose school was not only to include 'meet and convenient rooms for the said schoolmaster and usher to inhabit and dwell in,' but also 'a cellar under the said rooms or schoolhouse to lay in wood and coals.' The corporation accounts often give the actual cost of the building, in which the glass for the windows was often the most expensive single item; *the 43½ feet used at Louth cost* 25s. 4d. in 1557–8. The costs at Taunton, Marlborough, Kendal, Boston, Guildford, Sandwich, and St. Bees fall within the limits given above.

The schoolroom walls, as at Tiverton, were 'to be strongly wainscotted round about, and this wainscot to extend about five or six feet above the settles or forms,' thereby inviting the possessor of a new knife to try its keenness and his own skill in carving; while the expensive windows, which generally contained the royal arms, together with those of the founder and his connections, had to be barred to protect them from the attentions of naughty boys during playtime,

or during periods of unusual disorder within. While there was usually a fireplace and chimney, generally in the middle of one of the long sides, this cannot always have been the case, or it would not have been necessary for the founder of Harrow (as at Tiverton) to specify 'a large and convenient schoolhouse with a chimney in it.'[1] Elizabethan schoolrooms, especially the converted chapels, must have been very uncomfortable by modern standards, and in winter boys must have suffered much from the cold. Boys were generally expected to bring their own share of fuel, as also their own candles when school hours and the time of year made artificial light necessary. At Merchant Taylors', however, liberal provision of this kind was made: 'The great cellar under the schoolhouse shall be . . . wholly employed and bestowed between the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady and the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, upon wood, coal, billets, and faggots, or other good fuel for such of the scholars as, in the extreme cold time of winter, may have need to warm them by at times very convenient and needful in the months of November, December, January, February, and March, saving that 13s. 4d. . . . shall be bestowed every winter upon wax candles or other lights of wax, for the poor children to read on their books by in the winter mornings and evenings.' The allowance for fuel at Harrow was five marks for 'good charcoal . . . for the common use of the scho-

[1] According to Harrison, at the time of writing chimneys were just coming into general use: 'yet our tenderlings complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses' (= colds in the head). Apparently the earlier schools had only open hearths.

lars,' and ten loads of wood, viz., 'six good loads of ash bavins and four good loads of tall wood' provided from the founder's lands.

Since the entire work of the school had to be done in a single room, the resulting uproar and confusion can be imagined; and soon a beginning was made with partitions, though this made supervision by the master more difficult. According to Erasmus, St. Paul's was divided into four by curtains, separating the petties, master's and usher's forms, and the chapel. At Tiverton the schoolroom was 'to be divided on or near the midst with some fit partition of four feet in height or thereabouts'; at Shrewsbury, it was divided into three rooms by partitions in which were folding doors; but Farnaby, in his private school in Cripplegate is said to have been the first to have a separate classroom for each form. Yet so late as 1660 we find Hoole recommending as an innovation, folding doors to reduce 'the noise of one another, not to mention the clamour of children.'

Cleaning was commonly done once or twice a week by some 'poor scholar,' who sometimes received part of the school fees for his services. Thus, at St. Paul's, the 4d. admission fee was to be given to 'the poor scholar that sweepeth the school and keepeth the seats clean,' while at Merchant Taylors' it was paid to one 'to sweep the school, and keep the court of the school clean, and see the streets nigh to the school gate cleansed of all manner of ordure, carrion, or other filthy or unclean things, out of good order, or extraordinarily there thrown.' Hollyband is very particular, and has his school swept with a 'birchen broom'

daily between morning and afternoon sessions; 'sweep the school while they come. . . . Take some water to water it, for it is very dusty.' At Sevenoaks, the usher, in consideration of his fees (1d. a quarter) had to 'cause the school to be swept and made clean once every week'; while Kemp uses sweeping school as a 'service of drudgery' for mild punishment.

6. Furniture

The most prominent article of furniture in the schoolroom was the master's chair, raised a step or two above the floor at the upper end of the school, where it was often let into the panelling, 'so that he may be able to have every scholar in his eye, and to be heard of all'; this chair, with the master enthroned and holding a huge birch by way of sceptre, figures as frontispiece in many schoolbooks of the period. The usher's seat would be at the other end, more often at the side than immediately opposite the master; the boys' benches were ranged in rows along the two long sides, so as to leave a broad space in the middle, and the back rows were raised in tiers above those in front. Hoole recommends that 'the forms should be set equally on both sides, the higher half on the master's right hand,' and that the youngest boys should sit nearest the door. In the larger and better equipped schools there were desks, 'whereon every scholar may write and lay his book'; but a large number must have followed the practice at Bury, where the statutes have the quaint provision 'when they have to write, let them use their knees for a table.' Evidently

THE OLD SCHOOLROOM, MERCHANT TAYLORS'

This is the Great Hall in the Suffolk Lane Buildings, as it was about 1780: it shows how the Elizabethan arrangement of desks persisted into the nineteenth century, so long as an entire school was taught in one room without partitions.

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the change-over from oral instruction was fraught with considerable difficulties.

Along the walls above the boys' heads were shelves to contain those books which were the property of the school, and which were bought or replaced as a rule with part of the admission or quarterly fees. Thus at Sandwich, the admission fees (6d. or 12d.) went 'to provide necessary books, as dictionaries or other, for the common use of the scholars'; while at Cheltenham in 1586 the corporation bought two dictionaries for the use of the pupils, which were to be 'tied fast with little chains of iron to some convenient place in the school.' This seems to have been a common practice; at Boston in 1578 it was resolved 'that a dictionary shall be bought for the scholars of the Free School, and the same book to be tied in a chain and set upon a desk in the school, whereunto any scholar may have access as occasion shall arise.' Two more dictionaries were bought in 1601 (one Latin and one Greek), by which time the first had apparently become worn out, it is to be hoped by legitimate usage. In the same way the Coventry statutes prescribed 'that there be dictionaries chained in the school for the general use of the scholars there, and shall be kept safely by the head schoolmaster and usher.' An interesting idea of the contents of a school library is furnished by an inventory of books made at Sandwich on the appointment of a new master in 1640. This shows that the school possessed, 'in a great four-fold press' (i.e., bookcase), fifty-three books. These included seven in Greek (grammars and testaments) and a Hebrew grammar; twenty classical Latin texts,

six of them Cicero; 'modern' authors like Erasmus and Mantuan; paraphrases of the Psalms and Epistles; collections of letters and orations, ancient and modern; Rider's dictionary; and a mixed assortment of grammars, vocabularies, and phrase-books, all 'very much torn and spoiled by the negligent care that former schoolmasters took of them.'

The library at Shrewsbury is famous, and in fact only rivalled by Eton amongst schools. Erected under Ashton in 1595, it was early 'furnished with all manner of books, maps, spheres, instruments of astronomy and all other things appertaining to learning,' and has now by benefactions and purchase reached the noble total of 6,000 volumes. These include early printed books and Elizabethan first editions; MSS. valuable for local history; and the school registers from 1562–1663, bound in two volumes. In a smaller way, the founder of Maldon made a similar laudable provision, leaving 'all his books and pictures, together with his large map of the world, and all his MS. papers,' besides 20s. a year to buy new books. Two schools, Guildford and Bolton, still retain their chained libraries.[1] The former has eighty-seven chained volumes, a gift of his Latin books by Bishop Parkhurst (died 1574), and lodged in a gallery over the entrance gateway. As these volumes consist chiefly of the Fathers and commentaries, it seems unlikely that they were much in demand by boys, though they may have been intended by the worthy Bishop for the master's leisure reading. Bolton School has still fifty chained books in the original 'almery' or book chest.

[1] See *The Times*, May 13, 1931.

Caps were not worn by schoolboys until after the time of Edward VI, the custom of going bareheaded being still retained in the case of Christ's Hospital. The city flat cap or statute cap of wool was ordered in 1571 to be worn on Sundays and Holydays by boys over six; and Tudor schoolboys had constantly to be warned what to do with the unfamiliar cap, whether in saluting their elders in the street, or indoors. 'Put your cap under your armpit' says Vives to a boy addressing his master. John Slie (see p. 52) rejoices that he is free from the effeminate custom; and schools were only just beginning to provide pegs 'whereon they may hang their hats, that they be not trodden (as is usual) under foot' (Hoole). One of Hollyband's ruffians complains that his cap has been maltreated in this way.

It would appear to have been customary to have a school bell to call boys to their lessons. Corderius makes some of his pupils complain 'we seldom hear it from our houses because they are distant over far from this school,' and one of his monitors explains that the bell had not been rung at the end of play time because the rope had been broken. Similarly at Coventry, scholars are 'to pay quarterage to the sweeper of the school for ringing of the bell,' amongst other things. Time would normally have to be taken from the church clock; Hoole recommends hourglasses, so that master and pupil could be alike 'precisely observant of the clock,' though perhaps from opposite motives. Blackboards would be rare; the earliest mention of one is by Brinsley, who recommends a master teaching a pupil to write, to show

him 'with a piece of chalk upon a board or table.' But no minor articles of furniture were more in evidence than the instruments of punishment, the birch and the ferula.[1] The latter, applied to the palm of the outstretched hand, was a flat piece of wood like a ruler, widened at the inflicting end into a circular shape, which was sometimes pierced with a hole for raising blisters; the seal of Camberwell Grammar School represents a master brandishing one apparently some ten inches long. In the Blackburn seal, the master wields a businesslike switch some three feet in length; but the most usual implement is undoubtedly the birch, about two feet in length, to judge by the pictures. 'A good sharp birchen rod, and free from knots, for willow wands are unsufferable, and fitter for a bedlam than a school' is Hoole's opinion; to which Brinsley adds, 'or small red willow where birch cannot be had.' The Winchester 'bibling rod,' the alleged invention of Warden Baker, was unique: a long handle with four apple twigs tied to the end by a thong. It was adding insult to injury that these birches and ferulas were often bought from fees earmarked for the purpose, as, e.g., at Thame, where the 2d. quarterly fee was 'to go towards the cleaning of the school and the purchasing of rods.' Whipping posts were apparently required in the case of specially unruly boys, and an example still survives at Barnet; the Eton swishing block and the flogging horse at Lichfield[2] are similar survivals of a more barbaric age.

[1] See Hone: *Every Day Book*, I, 967.
[2] See Chambers: *Book of Days*, I, 240.

CHAPTER II

MASTERS AND BOYS

1. The Staff

THE one indispensable provision for a school was naturally a master, who in the case of the smaller schools had to carry out his duties single handed; the majority of schools, however, had an usher as well, though very few schools were as fortunate as St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', which had three ushers each, or as Shrewsbury, which had four. Christ's Hospital had an even larger staff, consisting of master and usher, writing and music masters, and master of the petties. Even these schools still fell short of Hoole's ideal of 'six able ushers,' i.e., one for each form. In most cases a master, whether working alone or not, had accordingly to call upon some of his senior scholars for assistance, especially in hearing the lessons of the younger boys—using them, in fact, as pupil-teachers. In some cases this was enjoined by statute; thus at Manchester, 'the High Master shall always appoint one of his scholars as he thinketh best, to instruct and teach in the one end of the school, all infants that shall come there to learn their ABC primer, and sorts till they being in grammar, and every month to choose another new scholar so to teach the infants'; while at Bungay, 'one of the highest form

shall weekly by course instruct the first form, both in their accidence, and also in giving them copies to write.'

The appointment of the master was in various hands; the right belonged in many cases to the founder and his heirs, or to the governors of the school; or it might be the duty of some royal, civil, or clerical authority, or of some college at Oxford or Cambridge. By whomsoever appointed, however, the master had to be formally licensed by the Bishop, a custom retained by Elizabeth in her injunctions of 1559, which directed that 'no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the Ordinary, and he found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion.' There are thus records, e.g., of two masters at Ipswich being thus presented to the Bishop of Norwich for his approval in 1580 and 1586; a man who taught without a licence was liable to a year's imprisonment, and his employers to a fine of £10 a month. Amongst the papers of John Conybeare are applications for his licence as schoolmaster from the Bishop of Exeter, and to prohibit unauthorized rivals from teaching in the same parish, asking for these gratuitously on account of his poverty and the expenses of his family. An example of a licence issued by Archbishop Whitgift in 1599 is quoted in Strype's *Life of Whitgift*: one William Swetnam is licensed 'to teach and instruct children in the principles of reading, and introduction into the accidence; and also to write and to cast accounts, in any parish within the city of

London, or our peculiar churches of Canterbury, within the said city.'

It was above all things necessary, in the eyes of the reformers, to secure the orthodoxy of the master; and to this end, the Archbishops' articles of visitation generally contained such inquiries as 'Whether any schoolmaster doth teach within your parish without licence of his Ordinary?' and 'Whether any such schoolmaster is reported, known, or suspected, to be backward in the religion now established by the laws of this realm?' In numerous cases the master, on appointment, had to make some public declaration, such as reading the rules, orders, or statutes, or by taking a particular oath that he would carry out his duties properly, under heavy penalties for failure. Examples of such oaths survive, e.g., at Kirkby Stephen, East Retford, and Thame, that at the first-named running as follows:

'I do swear by the contents of this book, that I shall freely, without exacting any money, diligently instruct and teach the children of this parish, and all others that shall resort unto me, in grammar and other humane doctrine, according to the statutes thereof made; and I shall not read to them any corrupt or reprobate books or works set forth at any time contrary to the determination of the universal catholic church, whereby they may be infected in their youth in any kind of heresy or corrupt doctrine, or else to be indured to insolent manner of living; and further shall observe all the statutes and ordinances of this school now made, or hereafter to be made, which concern me, and shall do nothing in prejudice thereof, but help to maintain the same from time to time, during my abode

herein, to the best of my power. So help me God, and the contents of this book.'

It does not give a very favourable impression of the conscientiousness of the masters that they had to be tied down in this very comprehensive manner.

The usher was as a rule appointed by the master, though sometimes by the governors, whose approval of the master's choice was in any case required. In this way, unnecessary friction was avoided: the usher was required to be 'obedient to' the master, to follow the teaching methods prescribed by him, and to obtain his leave to be absent from school. At Thame, where there was a special statute[1] to be read by him on appointment, he was closely circumscribed, not being allowed 'to go more than three miles in any direction without the knowledge or leave of the master, under a penalty of sixpence, which we desire to be deducted from his salary.' So it is to be hoped that there, at any rate, regrettable incidents, like that at Christ's Hospital, when the master (Ralph Waddington) 'did very uncharitably strike the usher in the school,' were successfully avoided. Normally, the usher's abilities would be judged, as at Giggleswick, by his ability to 'prefer every year one whole form to the master's erudition, wherein, if he do make default, then he shall stand to the censure of the said master and governors.'

2. Qualifications of the Masters

The qualities desired in a master were numerous and exacting. One only, however, was indispensable, and

[1] Printed in Stowe, 77–78.

the statutes, indefinite enough elsewhere, are most specific on this point: his religious views must be sound. Thus, at Sandwich, he was to be 'found meet for his right understanding of God's true religion, now set forth by public authority'; in some cases he was to be a priest in orders, but holding no benefice, but usually this was left open, though in a few instances (as e.g., at St. Alban's) it is specifically forbidden. On the question of moral qualifications, the statutes are more vague: 'well reported of,' 'honest and discreet,' 'a man of wise, sociable, and loving disposition' are typical descriptions. Thus, at Oundle, he was not to be 'a common gamester, haunter of taverns, neither to exceed in apparel nor any other ways to be an infamy to the school, or give evil example to the scholars.' Felsted would have none who were 'drunkards, whorehunters, or lewd in living,' which looks as if they had been badly deceived at some time or another. His scholastic attainments are also indefinite, and form a rather pathetic commentary on the standard of learning usual amongst schoolmasters: 'learned and cunning' is the usual limit; a knowledge of Latin is often, and of Greek occasionally, specified—'if any such may be got'; sometimes he was required to be a B.A. or M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge, 'if it may be conveniently.'

A minor qualification was one of age, a man over twenty-six and often over thirty being generally desired, 'to the end that experience may appear in his conversation and life, and that more obedience may be used towards him for the same.' (Witton.) In a few cases, as at Shrewsbury and St. Bees, he was to be

if possible a local man; there is no agreement as to whether he should be married or not. The Chigwell statutes provide a useful summary: 'A graduate of one of the universities, not under seven and twenty years of age, a man skilful in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good poet, of a sound religion neither Papist nor Puritan, of a grave behaviour, of a sober and honest conversation, no tippler nor haunter of ale-houses, no puffer of tobacco (!), and above all that he be apt to teach and severe in his government.' A paragon indeed.

How far the average master fell short of the high hopes expressed by the framers of the statutes may be judged by the fact that it was found necessary to guard against two abuses to which masters were commonly prone. One was lengthy and frequent absence. 'The presence of the master amongst his pupils is always necessary and cannot long be done without, as they scarcely learn in three days what they easily forget in one, if owing to too much holiday they get out of practice' (Thame); and few masters were allowed more than a month's leave in the year. Often this leave was limited to twenty days, and that only for good and urgent cause; and for this they usually had to obtain special permission from the governors, and to appoint substitutes during absence. The Sandwich archives, e.g., preserve a licence, duly signed on March 11, for the master to go into the country in 1638 'about his special business and affairs,' and making arrangements for the rector to take his duty—with a note at the end, that the absentee returned to his post on March 23. The other abuse was the exac-

tion of extra and unauthorized fees in addition to those allowed by the statutes; voluntary gifts, however, he might accept—'If any of the parents or friends of the scholars give him anything of their free will, he may take it thankfully.' (Guisborough.) The founder of Tiverton, mindful of the generous salary his masters were to receive, is specially emphatic on this point: 'My hope and desire and will is, that they hold themselves satisfied and content with that recompense for their travail without seeking or exacting any more either of parent or children, which procureth favour to givers and the contrary to such as do not or cannot give: for my meaning is, it shall be for ever a free school and not a school of exaction.'

Many 'old boys' complain of the inefficiency of their masters; thus Sir John Bramston says that one of his was 'a great pretender to sanctity and religion' and 'a very mean and superficial scholar,' who 'had not grounded him in grammar, nor indeed was he able.' Others are more sweeping in their condemnation, from Sir Thomas Elyot ('Lord God, how many good and clean wits of children be now-a-days perished by ignorant schoolmasters! How little substantial doctrine is apprehended by the fewness of good grammarians!') in the early sixteenth century, to Henry Peacham at the beginning of the seventeenth—'It is a general plague and complaint of the whole land for, for one discreet and able teacher, you shall find twenty ignorant and careless; who . . . whereas they make one scholar, they mar ten.' Even Peacham has to join in the merry and popular sport of baiting his own profession; but his criticism is at least construc-

tive. At some length he points out their chief faults: (1) treating all boys alike, so that some, 'like fleet hounds go away with the game when the rest need helping over a stile a mile behind,' (2) too much 'correction,' especially of dull boys who cannot work as fast as the others, (3) too severe correction for trivial faults, (4) 'a precise and tedious strictness, keeping boys too long at their books,' and (5) the opposite extreme, too much play: 'every day is play day with them.'

Brinsley puts the defence into the mouth of 'Spondeus,' the exponent of current teaching methods, who, on his part, complains of 'a fruitless, wearisome, and unthankful office, in teaching in a poor country school,' where he has 'so long laboured in this moiling and drudging life, without any fruit to speak of, and with so many discouragements and vexations instead of any true comfort, that I wax utterly weary of my place, and my life is a continual burden to me.' He then gives various definite complaints often made by parents, acknowledging the justice of some of these, and defending himself against the others. In this category are, that exercises remain uncorrected, that children forget what they have learned, that while learning Latin, they cannot read English, that they are often ignorant of figures, and (most serious of all), that children are afraid to come to school, or wish to leave as soon as possible, because of overmuch severity and frequent whippings on the part of the master, which in addition breed what Ascham calls 'a perpetual hatred of their master and a continual contempt for learning.'

3. Some Distinguished Masters

But it must not be supposed that all the sheep were black; as Peacham says, 'Many of them may be ranked with the most sufficient scholars of Europe,' for 'even the most profound scholars of the world have not been ashamed of teaching grammar.' Shakespeare draws two portraits, neither of them too unkind, of what were probably average specimens of rural schoolmasters, in Holofernes[1] and Sir Hugh Evans. The former makes a great parade of his little learning, garnishing his conversation with scraps of Lily and Mantuan; the latter scornful at others' ignorance, but good humoured enough, though he does examine a boy on a holiday! Some old boys give their masters unsolicited testimonials; thus, one of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's masters 'was of that rare temper in governing his choler that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there,' while Andrew Downes, the ablest Greek scholar of his day, says of Ashton of Shrewsbury, 'For nothing was he more grateful than for having had such a teacher, of whom all his pupils might well be proud.' It is, however, true that most of the masters were men of little distinction, about whom nothing is certainly known except the scanty and impersonal data contained on their monuments, or in the parish registers. Truly the whirligig of time brings its revenges; and it *is* the irony of fate that those masters of whom anything further is known owe it to the testimony of some grateful (or resentful) old boy. On the whole,

[1] Possibly drawn from his own master, Thomas Hunt,

however, the number of those who have made names for themselves is larger than might be expected, and the following list, which might be largely extended, may be taken as representative.

Many wrote on their own craft, such as William Lily of St. Paul's, who might well be called the 'Lord High Grammarian'; Edmund Coote of Bury, author of *The English Schoolmaster*; Richard Mulcaster of Merchant Taylors' and St. Paul's, a man before his time, as is shown by his *Elementarie* and *Positions*; John Brinsley himself, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, famous for his unique *Grammar School*; and William Kemp of Plymouth, author of the *Education of Children*, which he hoped might 'bring forth some young imps and buds of learning, whose fruit would be sweeter than all the banqueting dishes to feed the Commonwealth and Church of God.' Others were scholars of renown, like Philemon Holland of Coventry, 'Translator-General in his age'; and John Owen of Warwick, famous for his Latin epigrams; men of letters like Nicholas Udall of Eton and Westminster, whose *Ralph Roister Doister* is the first English comedy; or divines like Alexander Nowell of Westminster, one of whose catechisms is practically identical with that in the Prayer Book. Others again were antiquaries, such as John Twyne of Canterbury, author of *De Rebus Albionicis;* and the incomparable William Camden of Westminster, a herald of distinction and author of the standard Greek grammar, besides the *Britannia*, the material for which he collected during journeys made in his scanty school holidays. Then there were historians, like Richard Knolles of Sand-

wich, author of a *History of the Turks*, valuable for its vigorous prose style; John Hyrd of Lincoln, who wrote a *Historia Anglicana* in Latin verse; and Christopher Ocland of Southwark, whose somewhat similar *Anglorum Proelia* was ordered to be taught in all schools. There were physicians such as Thomas Cagan of Manchester, author of the *Haven of Health*, and Christopher Johnson of Winchester; travellers like William Malim of Eton and St. Paul's, who made many journeys in the Near East; and courtiers and men of affairs like Thomas Ashton of Shrewsbury. Most versatile of all was Thomas Farnaby, companion of Drake and Hawkins, soldier in the Netherlands, friend of Ben Jonson, editor of the classics, and a scholar of European reputation, who was nevertheless master of a famous private school in Cripplegate, where he had over 300 boys, amongst them Sir John Bramston. That men like these were sought by the founders, and were content to accept posts as schoolmasters, shows the honour in which people were prepared to hold the office; whilst men of such varied attainments and such extensive knowledge of men and affairs can scarcely have proved tedious or inefficient teachers. It was only in the next century that the office was undertaken only from necessity, or as a step to other preferment.

An interesting picture of the scholarship of the average Elizabethan schoolmaster can be gathered from the MSS. of John Conybeare of Molton, Devon (1580). These contain numerous academical exercises, including theological and rhetorical theses (one of them for an old pupil, a Fellow of All Souls, who

had apparently forgotten his Latin !), all much altered and corrected, and uniformly uninteresting; Latin verses of some merit, many of them addressed to the Queen; and a number of letters apparently written as models for boys to send home. More interesting are his teaching memoranda—a summary of the Rhetoric of Susenbrotus, and a copious collection of Latin proverbs and adages, with translations and comments. We can almost see him in his study, conscientiously preparing his sixth form work for the morrow.

4. SALARIES

The salaries which these marvels of virtue, orthodoxy, and learning were to receive usually compare not unfavourably with those in fashion less than fifty years ago, and often advocated to-day. Stowe has collected details from seventy-nine schools, showing that the master's stipend varied from pittances of £3 and £4 up to liberal allowances at large schools like Shrewsbury (£40) and Tiverton (£50). The average of all cases quoted is £16½, and of twenty-five of these the salary is £20, 'of good and lawful money of England.' The usher usually received half as much as his chief, or sometimes rather less, his average being £9; and both were to be paid quarterly on certain feast days. In addition to house, garden, and orchard, there were also quarterly capitation fees in many instances, which would add perhaps £10 to the master's salary: so that it is evident, as Stowe points out, that he received a salary comparable with those of such

civil and clerical officials as the mayor of a large town or a canon of a cathedral; and in any case he was much better off than his predecessors before the Reformation, whose salaries, according to Leach, averaged only £6½. It does not appear, therefore, that the great majority were so miserably underpaid as has been generally supposed, at any rate during the period we are considering; in fact, some of them were sufficiently well off to execute repairs and improvements in their schools at their own expense and to leave substantial legacies behind them.

Yet we cannot forget the caustic indictments of Elyot and Ascham. 'If they hire a schoolmaster to teach in their house,' says the former, 'they chiefly enquire with how small a salary he will be contented, and never do search how much learning he hath'; while the other declares 'It is pity that commonly more care is had, yea, and that amongst very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse than a cunning man for their children. . . . For the one they will gladly give a stipend of 200 crowns by the year, and loth to offer to the other 200 shillings.' Peacham sings the same tune, asking bitterly, 'Is it not commonly seen that the most gentlemen will give better wages and deal more bountifully with a fellow who can but teach a dog or reclaim a hawk, than upon an honest, learned and well-qualified man to bring up their children?'; against which we may quote Gascoigne's model parent, 'There is *no money* so well spent as that which is given to a good schoolmaster.' But it is only in recent times that the parsimonious attitude has shown any sign of disappearing.

5. The Pupils: Class and Type

Since the grammar schools provided an education at a fee which was more or less nominal, it is clear that they were intended for all classes of the community, and not only for the well-to-do. This is as a rule definitely stated in the statutes; at Stratford, 'All sorts of children to be taught, be their parents never so poor and the boys never so inapt'; at St. Alban's, poor men's children were to be 'received into the school before any others'; if 150 boys were not available from the parish of Tiverton, the defect was to be supplied by 'foreigners' of honest reputation, 'without regarding the rich above or more than the poor.' The great 'public schools' were intended by their founders to fulfil the same purpose: at Winchester, the seventy foundationers are called 'poor and indigent scholars,' and the same words are used at Eton; at Harrow, the four scholars shall be 'born within the parish of Harrow, and such as be of the poorest sort, if they shall be apt for the said purpose.' So it happened that, in Elizabeth's time, instead of being sent (as in pre-Tudor days) to the house of some great lord for training in manners, morals, and accomplishments, sons of noblemen and gentry began to attend the local grammar schools, where they sat on the same benches with sons of farmers and townspeople, no doubt to the great advantage of all. Thus Sir Philip Sidney was sent to Shrewsbury, John Hampden to Thame, Oliver Cromwell to Huntingdon; and an analysis of the entries at Colchester between 1638 and 1643 shows a large proportion of

sons of gentlemen and clergy, together with sons of grocers, tailors, drapers, tanners, etc. As W. H. Woodward says, 'The tutor remained for the younger brothers, or piloted the promising graduate through the perils of the foreign tour'; those who were dissatisfied with the grammar school curriculum, or who disliked the mixing of classes which occurred, could (if they were in a position to do so) retain the domestic tutor, or patronize private schools.

Such restrictions as existed were therefore concerned with age, scholarship, and locality rather than with the social position or economic standing of the parents. Schools were intended primarily for the benefit of the children of a particular locality, whether parish or borough, but their privileges were often extended (usually at an increased fee) to boys of the surrounding district. Thus at Camberwell, 'twelve [of the scholars] which shall be freely taught shall be children of such of the inhabitants of the parish as shall be poor,' and at Southwark, 'children and younglings, as well of rich as the poor, being inhabitants within the same,' while on the other hand, at Shrewsbury under Ashton, one third of the boys were 'oppidans,' the remainder coming chiefly from Shropshire and the surrounding counties, and even further afield, while Foster Watson quotes the case of Bury, where in 1656 there were in the school twenty-six town boys and sixty from the country.

The grammar school curriculum left something to be desired in the case of the future soldier, courtier, or statesman, though all were not such hopeless failures as Sir Peter Carew, who at Exeter 'had no

affection for learning and daily played the truant,' and at St. Paul's was 'more desirous of liberty than learning,' so that 'no master could frame this young Peter to smell to a book.' Those who derived the greatest advantage were undoubtedly minds of the scholarly type, who in these days would be condemned as 'swots'; such as Anthony Wood at Thame, who was 'always up and ready the first in the house, and always ambitious of being the first in the school in the morning.' Simon d'Ewes (Bury, 1616–8) was another: who 'neglected not only food sometimes but often his sleep, for study; and was rebuked, not for neglect of his book, but often for sitting up too late at it,' and who delightedly recalls how he once 'caught out' a Cambridge M.A. in two or three false Latins while his class was being examined, 'which so nettled him that he broke off abruptly with me, and awhile after departed out of the school.' Or again, Nicholas Ferrar, who was 'so eager and diligent in his application that he soon surpassed all his companions,' and 'could at any time draw off his schoolfellows from their play, who would eagerly surround him and with the utmost attention listen to his little tales.' Truly, a scholar after his master's own heart!

6. Boarders

Since the grammar schools were founded in the main for the benefit of a particular area, not very many were at first boarding schools. Winchester and Eton were allowed by statute ten and twenty 'commoners' respectively, sons of notable and influential persons

who were to pay fees for board and lodging; while the founder of Harrow allowed the master 'to receive so many foreigners as the whole number may be well taught and applied, and the place can conveniently contain . . . so that he take pains with all indifferently, as well of the parish as foreigners, as well of rich as of poor.' The loophole thus afforded often went far towards nullifying the founders' intentions, and the abuse had become so serious by Elizabeth's time, that Harrison bitterly complains 'In some grammar schools . . . it is lamentable to see what bribery is used . . . that poor men's children are commonly shut out and the richer sort received, who in times past thought it dishonour to live as it were upon alms.' But in a number of cases provision was definitely made for the attendance of boys outside the immediate neighbourhood of the school, who lodged with the master or usher, or in suitable houses in the town, whose inhabitants no doubt made considerable profits over the practice. Thus at Sandwich, the master could not 'board, diet, or lodge in his own house, rooms, or otherwise,' more than twelve boys, nor the usher more than six; at Oundle the provision was similar, except that these numbers were halved. Anyone who boarded pupils had to undertake to keep them 'continually from unthrifty pastimes and games in his house,' and let the master know 'betimes if they were lewdly occupied,' while the goodman and his wife were to be 'such as should give example to the scholars not to follow gaming or other vain pastimes not meet for students.' Apparently the usual practice was for boys to board in houses in the town.

Thus Sir Peter Carew lodged in Exeter with Thomas Hunt, draper and alderman; while Anthony Wood stayed in the vicar's house, with others 'to the number of six, or sometimes more.' Mulcaster thinks that a master 'wearied with travailing all day' should not be allowed to take boarders, whom he would be likely to favour above the others; 'if parents dwell not near the school, let some neighbours be hosts . . . and deliver the master of the parents' care.' In such lodgings tragedies would occasionally occur, as at Shrewsbury in 1590, where 'there was a young scholar being about twelve or thirteen years old . . . hanged himself in his chamber where he did lie . . . being an idle boy and hated the school.' What fees were charged can usually only be guessed: it would appear that the cost of board at Winchester was about 8d. a week, and at Eton 12d., while for grammar boys and choristers at Canterbury and Peterborough it was 10d. From these figures, it may be estimated that a boy would be charged some 10s. or 12s. a quarter for his board and lodging. A boy in Corderius, however, pays as much as 4d. a day 'for boarding with my host.'

Complaints of the small quantity and poor quality of the food supplied at boarding schools were common then as now. Vives invites one such disgruntled scholar to 'observe you are in a school and not in an eating house'; while Hollyband makes an enthusiastic pupil recite the menus of his school meals for the benefit of a newcomer. It must be remembered in this connection that at the period, only two meals a day were customary (dinner between 11 and 12, and supper at 5—6), and that the exigencies of the phrase-

book and the value of advertisement are likely to have increased the attractions of his table. A breakfast of wholemeal bread, butter, and fruit is taken an hour and a half after rising. For dinner, there may be 'porridge' of wheat or barley with vegetables (turnips or cabbage—not, of course, potatoes) and eggs; fish—'a fresh fish if it can be bought fairly cheap in the fish-market, and if not, a salt fish well soaked'—on fast days; small beer or watered wine. 'At afternoon,' bread, almonds, figs, raisins, or in summer, pears, apples, cherries, plums. And lastly, supper: a joint —boiled mutton or roast veal, or (much more often, one would suppose), a 'fine gallimafrie' (= hash), eggs on fast days, cheese, nuts. This list at any rate gives an interesting idea of what Elizabethan meals consisted, when people lived for the most part on the produce of their own country.

In any case, a number of boys would be unable to go home for meals, especially breakfast, for which some schools allowed a break of half an hour at nine o'clock. In one of Vives' dialogues, a boy's sister does up his breakfast in a satchel—'a piece of bread and butter, and dry figs or pressed grapes, unless he would prefer a few cherries or plums'—not much to last the budding scholar until his 11 o'clock dinner. But some schools, especially in large towns, would not (for some reason not now obvious) allow meals on the premises. Thus St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' ordain with much emphasis and many negatives, 'Let them bring no meat nor drink nor bottles, nor use in the school no breakfasts, nor drinking in the time of learning in no wise. If they need drink, then let it be

provided in some other place.' Similarly at Manchester, 'No scholar shall bring meat or drink into the school, nor there to use their meat and drink; but always, if any such poor scholars there be that for their great poverty bring their meat and drink with them, they go to some house in the town and there eat and drink.'

7. The Pupils: Age and Attainments

Children were set to severe studies at a tender age in Tudor times. Brinsley gives the best age as 'commonly about seven or eight years old; six is very soon,' so that a boy should be ready for the university at fifteen or sixteen. The age of entrance prescribed by the statutes varies from six to nine, being six at Witton and Tiverton; but, as Brinsley says, 'If any begin so early, they are rather sent to the school to keep them from troubling the house at home, and from danger and shrewd turns, than for hope and desire of their friends that they should learn anything in effect.' He points out later, however, that 'by this means, two or three years may well be gained . . . so that a child thus entered rightly shall do much more at eight years old, than another so neglected can do at ten, or it may be at eleven or twelve.' Yet Anthony Wood went to school at five, 'to read in his Psalter,' and was ready for the accidence at seven.

The school qualifications for admission almost invariably included ability to read and write; some larger schools, e.g., St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', required a knowledge of the catechism as well; and not a few, like St. Alban's and Shrewsbury some

progress in Latin accidence—as the Tiverton statutes express it, 'none under a grammar scholar.' Brinsley is no doubt voicing the general opinion amongst schoolmasters when he declares, 'It seemeth to me an unreasonable thing that the grammar schools should be troubled with teaching ABC, seeing it is so great a hindrance to those pains which we should take with our grammar scholars for whom we are appointed': and from time to time numbers of smaller grammar schools began to impose the conditions of attainment which obtained at the larger ones, by making a stand against being burdened with the duty of teaching boys to read and write. Thus at Alford, 'There shall none be admitted into this grammar school before he can read perfectly and write legibly,' and at Thame, 'No boy shall have leave to enter the school, except he be experienced in reading English, and be fit and ready and able to take up the study of the rudiments of grammar'; while at Sandwich and Oundle he must be able to 'write competently and read perfectly, both English and Latin.' Similarly the statutes of Wakefield declare 'This school is not ordained for petties[1] but for grammarians.' But circumstances must often have proved too strong for the schoolmasters, who in this respect at least were fighting a losing battle, being compelled to accept a compromise, as at Guisborough. There 'petits' were received, 'whom the master himself shall not be bound to teach . . . but only assign so many of his scholars as may suffice to instruct them.'

[1] Little boys (French *petit*) still learning to read and write, and who have not yet begun Latin.

In a number of schools there was provision made for the removal of dull or lazy boys, though in a few instances this is definitely forbidden. An example of such power of removal is to be found at St. Paul's, where 'If your child, after reasonable season proved, be found here unapt and unable to learning, then ye, warned thereof, shall take him away, that he occupy not our room in vain.' This example was widely copied, as at Sandwich and Oundle, where 'upon trial of the capacity of the scholar should find him not meet to learn,' the master was to 'signify the same to his friends to remove him.' Brinsley is decidedly of the same opinion : 'Those only of them be encouraged to go on in the same, whom you find most ingenious, and especially whom you perceive to love learning the best ; which also do witness the same by their painfulness and delight in their books. The rest to be fitted, so far as may be conveniently, for trades, or some other calling, or to be removed speedily.'

Boys were normally supposed to be ready for the university at fifteen. 'Such only to be sent to the university,' says Brinsley, 'as have good discretion how to govern themselves there, and to moderate their expenses, which is seldom times before fifteen years of age. . . . Many would have them seventeen or eighteen years old before : because then commonly they have discretion to stick to their studies and to govern themselves.' In illustration whereof, William Bedell went to Cambridge at thirteen, and 'the first four years he lost, only keeping pace with those of his own age ; which seldom proves better, if so well, with such as are sent so young to the university.'

Peacham is of the same opinion: 'They take them from school, as birds out of the nest, ere they be fledged, and send them so young to the university that scarce one among twenty proveth aright . . . [having] no more care than to expect the next carrier'; and so is Mulcaster, 'Are there none sent to the university who when they come out of it years afterwards might with advantage return to the grammar school again?' But after all, is the undergraduate of to-day so very unlike his youthful predecessor?

8. The Pupils: Their Property

Armed with the necessary *qualifications*, duly admitted into the school by 'having his name written,' and the prescribed fees paid, the youngster of six or seven had yet to *furnish* himself with what was required for his lessons; schools provided little material for their pupils beyond a few classical texts and books of reference. Thus, at St. Alban's, as at Harrow, parents were comprehensively informed that 'Ye shall find your child with paper, pens, wax candles for winter, and all other things at any time requisite and necessary for the maintenance of his study,' while at East Retford, a boy was not to 'be suffered to continue in the school over one month, except he have books necessary for his form.' To carry these articles, books, and breakfast to and fro, he would require a satchel, the badge of the schoolboy, whether 'creeping like snail unwillingly to school,' or (more probably), running there to escape the unpleasant consequences of being late. The satchel, with its load, also served

as a useful weapon in street fights, like those which John Stow relates to have taken place in the streets of London between the boys of St. Paul's ('pigeons') and those of St. Anthony's, Threadneedle Street ('pigs'), in spite of stringent regulations as to orderly behaviour in public.

In the absence of any good artificial light, everyone in Elizabethan days rose and went to bed early; but even so, school time in winter entrenched upon the hours of darkness, and it was usual for boys to bring their own candles; thus at Camberwell every scholar had to bring 'the week after Michaelmas, a pound of good candles.' These were to be beeswax; 'in no time of the year they shall use tallow candles in no wise, but only wax candles, at the costs of their friends' (St. Paul's). At Shrewsbury, however, no candles were allowed, since it was supposed that they acted as carriers of the sweating sickness; and the schools hours were altered or reduced accordingly.

Pencils were not yet in general use, the Cumberland graphite not having been discovered until 1565; the lines ruled in early MSS. were done with a disc of metallic lead, and the earliest existing graphite writing appears to be in one of Sir Thomas Cotton's note books in the British Museum,[1] about 1630–40. Brinsley therefore, was decidedly up-to-date in recommending the use of 'a pencil of black lead thrust into a quill,' for the master's notes in books; 'for that you may rub out again when you will, with the crumbs of new wheat bread.' The use of indiarubber for this purpose was introduced by Priestley, the dis-

[1] *Nature*, April 22, 1922.

coverer of oxygen, in the eighteenth century. There is no mention anywhere of slates being used in schools; this must date, on the score of cheapness, from the late eighteenth century,[1] and Kingsley is for once in error in making Amyas Leigh break his slate on his master's head at Bideford. In the absence of other writing implements, all written work had to be done in ink. From the directions for making ink from nutgalls and green vitriol given in the sixteenth century domestic encyclopaedias, it would appear often to have been made at home, and this may be one of the reasons why the schoolboy of the period was always having trouble with his ink. Erasmus makes one complain '*My ink* is too thin by often pouring in of water,' while that of one of Vives' pupils is 'so thick that you would think it was lime,' and he proposes to make it flow more easily by adding water, or better, vinegar. The obvious expedient in such cases occurred in Corderius' school: mixing some which is too thin with some which is too thick, pouring it in and out of their inkhorns and mixing it with their pens until it is the right thickness. The use of quills meant learning the now forgotten art of making a pen, and the possession of a penknife for the purpose; the master would have to spend much valuable time in teaching this art, and the boy would no doubt succeed in wasting even more in his efforts to practise it. According to Corderius, pens could be bought as cheap as six for a farthing, 'such as have fallen from the wings of

[1] The earliest reference known to the author, of the use of slates in schools, is at St. Olave's, Southwark, *in 1815*. See *Carlisle*, I, 810, and II, 580.

our geese,' though the best quality, imported from Paris or Lyons, might cost 1d. each. The same authority gives the cost of a pen-knife as 2d.

Paper was relatively expensive, being introduced into England only in the thirteenth century, and not made there until the early fifteenth. Much of it was therefore imported; Vives recommends 'the best letter paper from Italy, very thin and firm; or even that commonest sort brought over from France, and especially that which you will find for sale in single blocks at 2d. each.' These cannot have contained many sheets, for the price of writing paper, small folio size, increased during the sixteenth century from 2d. or 3d. a quire at the beginning to 4d. or 5d. at the end. In Corderius, however, boys buy paper at 1¼d. or 1½d. a quire, 'and the mercer threw in a sheet of blotting paper,' but perhaps this was a smaller size. Parents would not encourage the extensive use of so expensive an article, and boys were always running short of it; so that the request of one of Hollyband's writing pupils, 'Lend me half a sheet of paper,' must have been a common one, and not so trivial as might appear, while Ascham's ideal of three paper books for each pupil could only be attained by the wealthy.

A coarse grey blotting paper is often found in fragments in fifteenth-century accounts; Vives advises 'linden tree paper for blotting and resting hands, instead of bran, sand, or dust scraped from a wall'; Brinsley will have his writing pupils use 'a blotting paper to keep their books from soiling or marring under their hands.' Nevertheless, sand long continued in general use.

If parents complained of the amount of paper their sons used at school, and which they had to supply, much more did they grudge the expense of costly and soon ruined lesson books; even Brinsley acknowledges that 'it is a great charge to poor men to provide so many books as may seem necessary,' and one of Corderius' boys who has changed his form wants to borrow two shillings to buy the books required. Hoole is optimistic enough to expect parents to be generous in the matter: 'Who would not bestow four or five shillings more than ordinary to profit and please a son?' No books were produced in such enormous numbers as the routine schoolbooks, and few are now so scarce; thousands upon thousands of copies were printed, only to be worn out in use. As Archer[1] says, schoolbooks were 'then the most lucrative of publishing properties, and now the rarest books extant, so completely have they been thrashed out of existence.' The immense quantity printed is evident from the facts that in 1582 one Roger Ward admitted before the Star Chamber having printed 10,000 copies of an ABC and Catechism, thereby infringing John Daye's licence; and that, though an ordinary edition of a book was limited to 1,250 copies, for Lily's *Grammar* the number was raised to 10,000. The monopoly of printing this indispensable book was held by Francis Flower during his life from 1574; the price was correspondingly high, so that so late as 1641 the complaint was made that it cost 8d., whereas it could be produced for 5d. Similarly, Camden's Greek grammar cost 8d.; and it may be noted here

[1] *Reg. Stat. Co.*, ii, p. 93.

for comparison that in the early fourteenth century a MS. *Donatus* of 6,000 words cost 3d., while Stanbridge's *Vulgaria* (1519) cost 10d. In Elizabeth's time an octavo Bible cost 3s. 4d., a Testament 10d., and a Prayer Book 1s. 6d.; while the Shakespeare first folio sold for £1. When it is remembered that book prices are often only the cost of the book in sheets, binding being an additional expense, it is evident that books were then relatively a great deal dearer than they are to-day. A finely bound and gilded Terence, shown off by one of Corderius' pupils and costing 10d., is considered by his fellows 'cheap enough.'

As schoolbooks were usually only paper covered pamphlets, and as their contents had for the most part to be learned by heart, it is no wonder that they did not last very long, even when the utmost care was taken of them; and their fate would usually be hastened by ill-treatment, throwing about, dog-earing, or scribbling. The Elizabethan schoolboy could no more resist scribbling in his lesson books than his modern descendant, and their efforts are remarkably similar. Notes of possession are common, of the

'He that steals this book,
Shall be hanged on a hook'

variety; and an interesting case is a 1543 illustrated Caesar,[1] given by his father to one John Slie, apparently a Westminster chorister, in 1589; it is now in the library of Brasenose College, Oxford. His scribblings consist of his own name, and 'Roger,' a chum, no doubt; secret correspondence and clandestine con-

[1] See Bibliography under A. M. Bell.

versations, conducted (we may conclude) during lesson hours; rough verse, usually glorifying the Queen in the fulsome fashion of the day:

> 'The Rose is red, the leaves are green,
> *God save* Elizabeth *our noble* Queen;'

musical notes and the words of popular songs—and, besides, useful *translations of* difficult passages, handy lists of synonyms, and careful notes on the text. Little thought this idle schoolboy how interesting his efforts would prove to a later generation.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION

I. The Religious Aim

'THE Renaissance,' says Foster Watson, 'tended to draw attention away from the ecclesiastical and religious arena to the ancient classics. It is true that to some thinkers, like Colet, the classics were chiefly of value in throwing light upon the Gospels and early Christian times. On the other hand, in drawing up schemes of education, Erasmus. . . . Sir Thomas Elyot . . . and Roger Ascham . . . do not in any way emphasise the teaching of the Bible, nor even directly refer to it as part of the curriculum.' But with the change from Catholicism to Protestantism all this was altered; both Church and State were alive to the dangers of ignorance, and part at least of the Royal patronage of schools arose from the determination to uphold the state religion. School life was, in consequence, permeated with religious instruction; and (to quote Foster Watson again) 'Elizabethan fathers and mothers, with their rigour of family prayers, and readiness of mind and soul for long services and sermons, would have insisted on such religious exercises even if the ecclesiastical and civil authorities had not just as determinedly prescribed them.' The same injunctions (1559) which made the use of Lily's Grammar

compulsory under Elizabeth, contained also the three following articles :

xli. 'That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to God's true religion now truly set forth by public authority.'

xlii. 'They shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences or scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness.'

xliii. 'Every parson, vicar, and curate shall upon every holyday and every second Sunday in the year, hear and instruct the youth of the parish for half an hour at the least before evening prayer, in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief, and the Lord's Prayer ; and diligently examine them, and teach the Catechism set forth in the Book of Public Prayer.'

The Reformers had evidently no intention of leaving anything to chance.

2. Daily Religious Exercises

At every grammar school without exception, then, lessons began in the morning and ended at night with religious exercises of some sort, varying from the saying of a few prayers (generally left to the discretion of the master, or appointed by some church official) to a complete service. They were usually held in the schoolhouse, but sometimes in the parish church, as at Kirkby Stephen ; where 'every morning and evening at six of the clock, the scholars two by two and the schoolmaster shall go from the schoolhouse into the parish church, and there devoutly upon their knees before they do enter the choir, say some devout prayer,

and after the same they shall repair together into the chapel or choir where I have made and set up a tomb; and there sing together one of these [fifteen] psalms hereafter instituted, such as the schoolmaster shall appoint.' The more usual form may be illustrated from the Sandwich statutes: 'Acknowledging God to be the only author of all knowledge and virtue, I ordain that the master and usher of this my school or one of them at the least, with their scholars, at half hour before seven of the clock, do firstly, devoutly kneeling on their knees, pray to Almighty God, according to the form by the master prescribed, on every school day.'

Some schools had special prayers provided in their statutes, often three in number, for morning and evening use, and in praise of the Founder; in less than a dozen schools these services are in Latin, 'the last perishing remains of post-Reformation offices.' The following will serve as examples:

Morning (East Retford, in English): 'O most merciful God and Giver of all understanding; which, at the invocation of the faithful, hast ever given things necessary for the setting forth of Thy glory, as the example of all ages recordeth; and for because nothing is more needful than wisdom and understanding; we therefore congregate together in this place to learn the same, most humbly beseeching Thee, O Eternal Father, so to illuminate our wits and understandings, that we may have our whole affection upon wisdom in these years of our infancy. And furthermore, may ever after receive, love, and embrace the same, and according to the precepts thereof, may direct our

acts; and last of all that the true wisdom of God may so shine in all our living, as may be to the glory and praise of Him from whom all wisdom cometh. Grant this, we beseech Thee, O God, for the love of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.'

Midday (Ipswich, in Latin): 'O most merciful God, who hast given to us parents and friends to bring us up; grant, we beseech Thee of Thy goodness, that they who do cherish us may obtain Thy mercy: and that we may undertake only such things as are pleasing to Thee: in doing which we shall be a delight to our friends and parents, and shall serve Thee, in Whom is all our safety, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Evening (Hawkeshead, in English): 'All honour, glory, and praise be given to Thee, most merciful Father and gracious God, for all Thy loving kindness and manifold graces poured down upon us; namely that it hath pleased Thee to protect us in this day from all dangers of the Enemy bodily and ghostly, and to increase Thy gifts of knowledge and godliness in us. Grant us, O good God, to love Thee for these so great mercies; still to grow in thankfulness more and more towards Thee: and forsomuch as Thou hast appointed the night to rest in, as the day to travail, give unto us such quiet and moderate sleep as may strengthen our weak bodies to bear those labours whereunto Thou shalt appoint them. Suffer not the Prince of Darkness to prevail in the darkness of the night, nor for ever against us; but watch Thou still over us with Thine eye, and guard us with Thy hand, against all his de-

ceits and assault; and though our bodies do sleep, make Thou our souls to watch, looking for the appearing of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, that we may be waking to meet Him in the clouds to enter with Him into eternal joy and blessedness. These things we crave at Thy hands, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be rendered all praise, glory, and majesty for ever and ever.'

Founder (Thame): 'O Almighty God and heavenly Father, in Whose mercy the souls of the faithful repose, we render Thee glory, praise, and honour for Thine ineffable love Who didst endue Thy servant John Williams our Founder, with so many and such excellent temporal gifts that he provided for the edification of the living church, as a remembrance for all generations. Send down from Thy holy throne most gracious God, the dew of Thy blessing; and so in like manner influence others that, after his example, they may study to produce fresh fruits, to the glory of Thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

In many cases the daily services were more elaborate, and included one or more of the following: the Lord's Prayer, Prayer of St. Chrysostom, a psalm (East Retford), Te Deum (Dronfield), or special hymn (Thame); reading from the Bible (Wigan); creed and ten commandments (St. Alban's). The form of service prescribed at Thame may perhaps be quoted:

Morning: Psalm lxvii (Deus Misereatur), Lord's Prayer, two special prayers, prayer of St. Chrysostom.

Evening: School Hymn, to be sung to the tune of the first psalm (in Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical version), psalm cxi, Founder's Prayer, Lord's Prayer.

The whole service was in Latin, the school hymn being as follows:

CARMEN SCHOLAE THAMENSIS (1575)

'Jesu, redemptor omnium,
Salutis anchora,
Audi preces clamantium,
Et mitis adjuva.
Tu sola spes, et saucii
Medela cordis es;
Te tot malorum conscii,
Rogamus supplices.

'Aufer tenebras sensibus,
Et lumen ingere:
Tuum timorem mentibus
Cultumque subjice.
Fac ut voluntas indoli
Semper respondeat,
Laborque viris ingeni
Infractus augeat.

'Da sic magistris obsequi,
Qui nobis imperant,
Ne quand'ad iram conciti
Se nimis torqueant.
Da literis quas discimus
Sic ut'in posterum,
Ut gloriam dum vivimus
Tuum sonent. Amen.'

In addition to these daily observances, chapters from the Bible were often read, in English, before dinner, 'such as the master may think fit to select as suitable, whether for inculcating piety, or for checking

the natural frivolity of the young,' to be 'clearly and distinctly repeated by one of the pupils, who is best able to read it with ability and proper articulation.' (Thame.) For this purpose, passages from Proverbs were naturally often selected, and senior scholars were expected to follow with the Vulgate, or (if able) with the Greek, using the Septuagint for the Old Testament, or even the Hebrew. Thus at Rivington, 'If there be any number of scholars together in one house at board, every one in course shall read often when the household is most together, a chapter or some piece of the Scriptures, or other godly book, and the others shall diligently mark what is read, and everyone afterward repeat some one sentence of that which they have heard read; and though there be but one scholar in a house, yet shall he on the holidays and long winter nights and other idle times when most company is together, read somewhat of the Scriptures, or other godly book to the rest of the household where he is lodged. The master and usher shall diligently inquire whether their scholars do these things, and see them duly corrected which do not.' The Royal injunctions of 1538, as again in 1547 and 1587, required a Bible to be set up in every parish church, where everyone was exhorted to read it; but the only official command for schools appears to have been at Winchester (1547), where 'From henceforth the Bible shall be daily read in English, distinctly and apertly, in the midst of the hall, above the hearth where the fire is made, both at dinner and supper.' Following this reading, a grace would of course be said of which Vives gives this example:

'Feed our hearts with Thy love, O Christ, Who through Thy goodness nourishest the lives of all living things. Blessed be these Thy gifts to us who partake of them, so that Thou Who providest them may be blest.'

But in spite of all this provision, religious enthusiasm soon cooled, and Brinsley has already to complain that 'these are matters . . . least thought of in most schools, though of all others they must needs be most necessary, which our laws and injunctions do take principal care for,' and that 'herein shall the Popish schoolmaster rise up in judgment against us, who make this the very chief mark at which they aim in all their teaching.' So perfunctory had these religious observances already become.

3. Religious Instruction

The daily religious exercises were reinforced by definite religious teaching in school, most of it doctrinal and dogmatic. For this purpose the lowest forms used Nowell's catechism in English, and in some schools (St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors') this was even required for admission; this 'short' catechism, practically identical with that now in the Prayer Book, was regarded as an absolute minimum of religious knowledge, and as preparatory to the middle and larger catechisms for the older scholars, who would use the Latin, and even the Greek, versions. It is to be noticed that, contrary to the usual practice of the colloquies, it is the master who asks the question and the child who gives the information; and, as Foster Watson remarks, it is 'only another form of disputa-

tion so prevalent in the middle ages,' and so 'it was only natural when the reformers sought for an instructural method in the new religious tenets, that the child should be apposed[1] . . . by the Bishop.' One method of procedure is laid down in the Rivington statutes:

'On Saturdays and Holyday eves, the usher shall exercise his younger sort in learning their short catechism in English in the Common Book, and the same days to all sorts the master shall read Dr. Nowell's or Calvin's catechisms, . . . willing the elder sort both to learn it by heart, and examine them briefly the next day after, when they come to school again, before they go to other things, how they can say it, and shall commend them that have done well, and encourage others to do the like.'

Brinsley gives further practical details. 'Every Saturday before their breaking up of the school . . . let them spend half an hour or more in learning and answering the catechism. To this end, cause every one to have his catechism, to get half a side of a leaf or more at a time; each to be able to repeat the whole. The more they say at a time, and the oftener they run over the whole, the sooner they will come to understanding. . . . In examining, first your usher or seniors of each form may hear that everyone can say. Afterwards, you having all set before you, may pose whom you suspect most careless.' This school work thus reinforced the catechizing in church on Sunday afternoons.

The psalter was familiar, being used as a reading

[1] i.e., examined by questioning. Thus Tyndale, 1526, renders Luke ii, 46 'both hearing them and posing them.'

book as well as sung in the Church service; while the Vulgate and Greek Testament were employed as classical texts. Brinsley's method was as follows:

'Cause your scholars to read you a chapter of the New Testament, or a piece of a chapter as time will permit, about twenty verses at a time. . . . One night to read it out of the Latin into English . . . the next night to read the same over again forth of an English Testament, into the same Latin back again. . . . Let them begin at the Gospel of John . . . or Matthew if you please.'

The Bible was also used, as an armoury of texts, to establish points of doctrine, and to controvert false statements; in 1547, by Royal command, 'in all lectures and lessons of profane authors [the master] shall confute and repel by allegations of scripture all such sentences and opinions as seem contrary to the Word of God and the Christian religion.' But apart from such usages, the Bible was only slowly adopted as an instrument of education, attention being concentrated rather on the principles of religion.

Even when it became general, actual Biblical instruction was largely indirect, usually by the aid of a colloquy, like that of Sebastian Castellion, which was a scripture history in the form of dialogues, combining scriptural knowledge with sound Latinity. This work had a very wide circulation, and was long used in schools, where in some cases (St. Saviour's, Southwark; Sandwich; Rivington) it was prescribed by statute. Brinsley, and after him Hoole, however, highly recommends a Biblical history by one Eusebius Paget (1613), which also employed the question and answer form. The usual method is to be adopted;

it is to be learned by heart and repeated, followed by questioning. 'Ask them what virtues are commended in that history, what vices are condemned; or what generals they could gather out of that particular; or what examples they have against such vices or for such virtues; and thus examine them after the same manner, so going over and over as the time permits, you shall see them come on according to your desire,' unless perchance the ungrateful pupils had in the meantime fallen asleep from boredom. But 'only those histories which are most familiar for children to understand, and most to edification; and so those questions only to be chosen.'

4. Church Attendance

Attendance at church, compulsory for parents, was invariably required of their sons, the directions varying from the curt 'Masters to command and compel their scholars to come and hear divine service in the parish church every Sunday and Holyday' at East Retford, to the fuller details at Dronfield: 'I ordain that the scholars do upon every Sunday and Holyday in the morning resort orderly to the school, and that they go thence into the church, two and two in rank, that they carry their service book with them, and answer the versicles in the psalms as the clerk of the parish doth, that they kneel at such times of the celebration of Divine Service accordingly as it is in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and that they stand up at the reading of the Creed, and bow at the sacred Name of Jesus, and that as many as be of

capacity do take in writing the notes of the preacher's sermons, and give account of them on Monday morning to the master.' No loophole for slackness must be left: masters are held responsible both for the presence of their pupils in church, and for their conduct while there. Boys are to proceed 'in a becoming manner' to church, and while there are to 'use devout and comely order without any talking or light demeanour' (Kirkby Stephen); they were usually seated apart from the rest of the congregation, 'to the end that their silence and other demeanour may be the better seen unto and reformed' (Sandwich). Their seats were often in the chancel or choir, or in a side chapel or transept, or in a special gallery, or round the Founder's tomb; thus at St. Alban's, they were to 'sit together in the chancel, or some other place of the church as the parson, churchwardens, and schoolmaster shall agree.' Often it was directed that they should take with them 'psalm books and books of prayer' (St. Saviour's, Southwark), 'each of them having a prayer book, either in Latin or English as the master shall appoint' (Oundle, Tonbridge). It must be remembered, too, that morning service was generally at 7 a.m. and evensong at 2 p.m., when young people were catechized as well!

Preachers can never have been listened to with such strained attention as by Tudor schoolboys; it has even been suggested (Keith-Falconer) that the first impulse to the cultivation of shorthand came from the desire of Protestants to remember the points of discourses, so as to be able to argue with, and maintain their positions against, Catholic adversaries. For

note-taking during sermons was insisted on, and secured by examination in school on the following morning. Even during the sermon a boy could not be left alone, to play quiet games, or test a new knife, or indulge in secret slumber as his own mood or the prosiness of the preacher dictated. Next morning chapter and verse would be required of him; he would be expected to reproduce the substance of the preacher's discourse, and woe to him if his attention or memory failed him. Schoolmasters looked to sermons for inculcating a knowledge of the fundamental principles of divinity; and Brinsley, as usual, gives them some sound advice. 'The very lowest can bring some notes, at least three or four. . . . Those who have been longer practised (1) to set down the text, or part of it, (2) To mark as near as they can, and set down, every doctrine, and what proofs they can, the reasons, and the uses of them, (3) In the highest forms, cause them to set down all the sermons: as text, division, exposition or meaning, doctrines, and how the several doctrines were gathered, all the proofs, reasons, uses, applications.' A stiff task for a boy in his early teens, however industrious, and however interesting the sermon; but worse awaited him. For, to add insult to injury, 'You may, if you think good, cause them the next morning to translate it into a good Latin style, instead of their exercise the next day.'

At least one old boy, however, complains of slackness in this respect. Simon d'Ewes condemns one of his masters, otherwise satisfactory, as follows: 'In one thing he was to blame, that he had no regard to the souls of his scholars, though he himself was a

minister; never causing them to take notes of his sermons in writing, or so much as to repeat any one note they had learned out of them.' His views as a boy would probably have been different.

CHAPTER IV

THE CURRICULUM

1. Latin Grammar

THE primary business of the Elizabethan schoolboy was to get by heart his Latin grammar, in which tedious task he would spend the first two or three years of his grammar school life. He was, however, at least spared the drudgery of his mediæval predecessor, who had to study his *Donatus*, a fourth century grammarian who wrote an elementary accidence in long, unbroken paragraphs, which was used in schools for over a thousand years. (The Geometry of Euclid, it will be remembered, had an even longer reign, remaining supreme in schools until recent times.) Grammar reform in England came in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and was largely the work of schoolmasters, amongst whom John Stanbridge of Banbury (1463–1510) was a pioneer. To him is attributed the first Latin grammar printed in English, and his method of teaching became so famous throughout the country, that a number of schools (including Manchester and Merchant Taylors') were required by statute to follow his procedure. In the first half of the sixteenth century a large number of

Latin grammars appeared, of which very many copies were printed for use in schools. The disadvantages of such a diversity of grammars with their ' confusing array of divergent innovations ' soon became apparent; and in 1542 the celebrated grammar of William Lily, first high master of St. Paul's, was authorized by proclamation of Henry VIII for use in schools to the exclusion of all others :

> ' We will and command and straitly charge all you schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this realm and other our dominions, as ye intend to avoid our displeasure and have our favour, to teach and learn your scholars this English introduction here insuing, and the Latin grammar annexed to the same, and none other.'

The idea of one standard grammar was of course parallel to that of one Authorized Version of the Bible; and, as Foster Watson says, ' for good and evil bound down the recognized teaching of Latin for generations,' so that Lily became the very impersonation of Latin grammar. For his work, transformed into the ' Eton ' Latin grammar, persisted in schools beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, having gone through over 300 editions. Odd phrases remained in a man's memory through life, as is shown by the number scattered through Shakespeare's plays. We do not wonder at Holofernes thus displaying his erudition; but Tranio quotes Terence (in Lily's simplified version), and Chiron recognizes Horace—' I read it in the grammar long ago.' Even the unscholarly Sir Toby manages to summon up a tag or two, such as ' diluculo surgere'; no doubt

easily recognized and appreciated by those of the audience who had been through the mill themselves.

The process of learning the grammar was bound to be a long and irksome one, however skilful and patient the master, and however apt and painstaking the pupil. Elyot might well protest against so much undiluted grammar—'a gentle wit is therewith soon wearied'—'By what time he cometh to the most sweet and pleasant reading of old authors, the spark of fervent desire of learning is extinct with the burthen of grammar, like as a small fire is soon quenched with a great heap of small sticks.' Similarly Ascham: 'To read the grammar alone by itself is tedious to the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.' In fact, as W. H. Woodward[1] has put it, 'It is a standing puzzle to us to-day, that men of strong intelligence, knowing however little of boys, should assume, as without question, that a rigorous course of grammar, construing, composition, and conversation in Latin, and that only, must appeal to youthful minds. They do not seem to have understood that to win effective attention to arid and meaningless material, nothing less than the most harsh pressure could be expected to succeed with the average boy.' Yet masters went doggedly on with their thankless task, knowing no more excellent way.

2. LILY

This standard grammar was a composite work whose history began in 1509. Colet himself wrote the

[1] *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, iii, p. 435.

accidence for use in his own foundation of St. Paul's; at his request, Lily drafted the syntax, and sent it for criticism to Erasmus,[1] as the first Latinist of the day. The latter altered it so considerably that Lily modestly refused to take the credit to himself, so that it went forth anonymously. Subsequently were added the carmen, *De moribus*, by Lily; rules for versification; and a number of annotations, including familiar gender rules, by Thomas Robertson, head-master of Magdalen College School. Such frequent additions and alterations led to the Royal proclamation, stereotyping the 1542 edition, which bore the title, *An Introduction to the Eight Parts of Speech, and the Construction of the same, compiled and set forth by the commandment of our most gracious Sovereign Lord the King*, and contained an address 'To exhort every man to the learning of grammar that intendeth to attain to the understanding of the tongue.' In the definitive edition, issued about 1574, the title was *A short Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used; compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain the knowledge of the Latin tongue*.

As a concession to the babes, beginning their Latin studies, the explanations of the accidence were given in English; but by the end of the sixteenth century, Latin was becoming less of a spoken language, and so it was found desirable to translate the remainder, and it was William Haine of Merchant Taylors' who earned the undying gratitude of generations of schoolboys by his 'Lily's Rules Construed,' which was henceforth bound up with the grammar. The various sections

[1] Erasmus' letter is printed in *Foster Watson*, pp. 249–50.

were more commonly known by their first few words than by their titles; thus the section 'On the preterit and supines of verbs' began with the immortal words 'As in praesenti perfectum format in -avi' (i.e., -As in the present forms its perfect in -avi), and that on genders of nouns with 'Propria quae maribus tribuuntur mascula dicas' (You call masculine nouns belonging to males), so that a boy's progress could be gauged by the position he had reached in his grammar. The extent to which Lily exploited the minutiæ of grammar, and indulged in hair-splitting distinctions, must have been a sore trial to schoolboys who had to suffer under him.

The book as it came into a boy's hand was a small paper covered pamphlet, about the size of an average modern prayer book (5½ inches by 3½ inches), and containing some 200 pages, of which the accidence occupied about 80. Three kinds of type were employed, all small and crabbed; but the conjugations and declensions were at least set out in full and reasonably spaced for the benefit of the learner, thus:

Present. Singular: Amo, amas, amat.
Plural: Amamus, amatis, amānt,

a great improvement on the

Amo/ as/ at, Amamus/ atis/ ant

of Stanbridge, though this last was itself an immense advance on the space-saving efforts of his predecessors.

3. Latin Texts

All this learning of the dry bones of grammar was preparatory to and necessary for the translation of the

in am the Vocatiue like the Nominatiue, the Ablatiue in a. The Nominatiue plurall in æ diphthong, the Genitiue in arum, The Datiue in is, the Accusatiue in as, the Vocatiue like the Nominatiue, the Ablatiue in is, as in example.

Hæc Mensa. Hic Poeta. Hic & hæc Verna.

	Singulariter.	Pluraliter.
	Nominatiuo hæc musa	*Nomina. hæ musæ.*
	Genitiuo huius musæ.	*Gen. harũ musarũ.*
	Datiuo huic musæ.	*Datiuo his musis.*
	Accusat. hanc musam.	*Accusa. has musas.*
	Vocatiuo ô musa.	*Vocatiuo ô musæ.*
	Ablatiuo ab hac musâ.	*Ablat. ab his musis.*

Note that Filia and Nata, doe make the Datiue and the Ablatiue plurall in is or in abus. Also Dea, mola, equa, liberta, make the Datiue and the Ablatiue case plurall in abus onely.

II. The seconde, is when the Genitiue case singular endeth in i, the Datiue in o, the Accusatiue in um, the Vocatiue for the most part like the Nominatiue, the Ablatiue in o. The Nominatiue plurall in i, the Genitiue in orum, the Datiue in is, the Accusatiue in os, the Vocatiue lyke the Nominatiue, the Ablatiue in is: as in example.

Hic Vir. Hic Liber. Hæc Colus. Hic Logos.

	Singulariter.	Pluraliter.
	Nominat. hic magister.	*Nomin. hi magistri.*
	Genit. huius magistri.	*Ge. horũ magistrorũ*
	Datiuo huic magistro.	*Dati. his magistris.*
	Accus. hunc magistrũ.	*Accu. hos magistros.*
	Vocatiuo ô magister.	*Vocat. ô magistri.*
	Abla. ab hoc magistro.	*Ab. ab his magistris.*

Note. Here is to be noted, that when the nominatiue endeth in us, the vocatiue shall ende in e: as Nominatiuo hic Dominus, Vocatiuo ô Domine. Except Deus, that maketh ô Deus. and Filius, that maketh ô fili.

When the Nominatiue endeth in ius, if it be a proper

A PAGE OF LILY'S GRAMMAR

This is from the early part, in which the explanations are in English: many generations of schoolboys learnt their grammar from this and similar pages.

classical authors into English; and the religious foundation underlying the entire curriculum is nowhere more clearly shown than in Colet's choice of authors for St. Paul's. 'He was anxious,' says Foster Watson, 'to combine the advantage of classical style *if possible with Christian subject matter; and to that* end. recommended especially Christian authors that write their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin,' naming five of the early Fathers and Christian poets of the fourth and fifth centuries, and such 'moderns' as Sedulius, Mantuan, and Erasmus, through whose works the styles of Cicero and Virgil might be inculcated. This idea failed to commend itself to schoolmasters, and Wolsey's statutes for Ipswich show a great advance: 'Who more humorous than Æsop? Who more useful than Terence?' 'What general would you rather have than Virgil himself, the Prince of Poets?'; and a return to the classics soon took place, and especially to Cicero, the most absurdly exaggerated language being used in praise of 'Tully.'

The old difficulties, however, remained; that these writers, whatever their excellence otherwise, were still heathen in outlook, and immoral in tendency. The master was often warned (unnecessarily, one would imagine) about such passages. At Kirkby Stephen, 'He shall interpret and read those authors which may induce and lead them to virtue and godliness and to honest behaviour, and to the knowledge of humanity, but not to wantonness or sauciness,' and at Giggleswick 'He shall not teach his scholars any unsavoury or Popish authors, which may infect the young wits of his scholars with heresies, or corrupt their lives with

uncleanness,' while at Thame, 'If any passage or blemish occur in these authors, according to the fashion of their time . . . which may be injurious to true piety or good morals, it shall be passed over, as it were dryshod, without being touched.' Brinsley deals with the same problem: 'All filthy places in the poets would be wisely passed over, or warily expounded,' and he thinks that 'it would be well if there were an index expurgatorius to purge out all the filth out of these, by leaving it out, or changing it,' while the Privy Council in 1582 recommended Ocland's Proelia as 'Worthy to be read of all men, and especially in schools, where divers heathen poets are ordinarily read and taught, from which the youth of the realm do rather receive infection in manners than advancement in virtue.'

A study of the authors prescribed in the various statutes gives the following order of preference:

1. Cicero.
2. Terence, Virgil, Ovid.
3. Sallust, Horace.

Caesar and Livy were not then usually regarded as elementary texts, and no mention is made of Tacitus; while 'modern' authors like Mantuan and Palingenius were often ranked of equal or greater importance. The information provided by the statutes is, however, rather meagre, and in most cases the choice seems to have been left to the discretion (or perhaps the scholarship) of the master. The St. Bees list may be taken as an example:

For Beginners: *Confabulae Pueriles*, *Æsop's Fables*, *Cato's Distichs*, (Nowell's) *Smaller Latin Catechism*.

Classics: Sallust, Caesar, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Prudentius.

Moderns: Mantuan, Palingenius, Buchan, Sedulius. A comprehensive enough list, from which the master was allowed to make his choice; some of the items probably require explanation to modern readers.

Confabulae Pueriles is a conversation book for speaking Latin, a collection of 'children's talk' in short phrases or sentences, but often unfit for children both from the difficulty of the Latin and the unsuitability of the subject-matter. *Sententiae Pueriles* was a similar work, containing a large number of short sentences from various authors, to precede continuous translation; it was first published in 1543, and held its own well into the seventeenth century. This work is the most likely source of many of Shakespeare's quotations, such as Proteus' remark 'A little time, my Lord, will kill that grief,' and Volumnia's 'The end of war is uncertain.' Cato's *Distichs* is a work dating from the third or fourth century, and fathered upon a mythical 'Cato'; it consists of a series of sententious hexameter couplets on moral subjects, at once edifying, and easy Latin; improving no doubt, but dull reading. No book was more commonly used in schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when not to 'know one's Cato' was a synonym of the most complete ignorance. It was frequently prescribed in the statutes, Mulcaster alone raising his voice against it, on the very reasonable ground that it was 'too serious for little ones, who mind nothing beyond their toys.'

Prudentius was a Christian poet of the early fifth century whose hymns were widely used in the Middle

Ages, and still occur in modern hymnals; *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, for example, contains five of them. Justin is, probably, the famous Roman Emperor of the sixth century under whose supervision the revision of Roman Law was undertaken, the celebrated *Institutes* forming an abridgment of the first principles for the use of students. Of the 'modern' writers, Mantuan,[1] i.e., Baptist Spagnuoli (1448–1516), a Carmelite friar of Mantua, was the author of some extremely popular eclogues (1502), preferred by the pedants of the day to Virgil himself; Palingenius of Ferrara wrote his *Zodiacus Vitae* about 1531; it is a long poem of over 9,000 hexameters describing the relations of man's life on the physical and moral sides, valued for its varied and comprehensive subject-matter. Sedulius was a Christian poet of the first half of the fifteenth century, portions of whose long poem in honour of Christ, the 'Carmen Paschale,' are still to be found in modern hymnbooks. Finally, Buchan is George Buchanan, the grim tutor of James VI of Scotland, who wrote heavy plays in perfect Latin, and made a popular translation of the Psalms into Latin verse.

The selection of authors derived from the statutes is borne out by the testimony of the pupils themselves. One of Corderius' pupils gives a list of the books he possesses. 'Accidence, scholar's dialogues, Terence, Tully's *Epistles*, with the interpretation, Cato, a dictionary, a Testament, the Psalms with a catechism, besides a paper book to write our master's dictates.'

[1] Quoted by Holofernes in *Love's Labours Lost* (Act IV, scene ii). 'Good old Mantuan' does not, of course, refer to Virgil!

Similarly, the boys in Gascoigne's *Glass of Government* report on their studies to their tutor: The younger has been ' taught first the rules of the grammar, after that we had read unto us the familiar communications called the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, and next to that the *Offices* of Cicero,' and also to make a verse. The elder has in addition ' read certain comedies of Terence, certain epistles of Tully, and some part of Virgil; we were also entered into our Greek grammar '—on which the master comments, ' You have not hitherto lost your time.' Again, Adam Martindale,[1] who went to St. Helen's about 1630–1640, when he was ' learning in *As in praesenti* and Cato,' was instructed ' for prose, in Corderius, Æsop's *Fables*, Tullie's *Offices*, *Epistles*, and *Orations*, together with Aphthonius[2] for Latin in prose . . . and for poetry, in Mantuan, Terence, Ovid's *Epistles* and *Metamorphoses*, Virgil, and Horace.' It is evident that the curriculum had become fairly stereotyped by the end of the sixteenth century.

4. Latin Composition

The writing of Latin was of hardly less importance than construing authors. In the lower forms, short simple sentences were set; later, ' vulgars ' were given out by the master, gone through by him first, and then set to the form. A favourite device, first advocated by Ascham, was to set for retranslation into Latin a passage which had already been turned into

[1] Printed in *Foster Watson*, p. 486.

[2] Aphthonius of Antioch, who wrote a textbook on *Rhetoric* in the late fourth century.

English, of course after a suitable interval, and without access to the book. This exercise had to be given up by a stated time, when it was corrected by the master and compared with the original. Thus, at Sandwich, such work was to be set every Monday morning, to be returned by Thursday afternoon, in quantity graduated according to age. Form II were to have two lines, and form III ten lines, set by the usher; the master was to set to form IV 'some epistle which he hath Englished out of Tully,' and to form V, 'some matter translated out of Tully, Caesar, or Livy.' The aim of this double translation was, of course, to improve the Latin style, and not to encourage slavish imitation, though one would suspect that that would be the result with many pupils of such tender years.

As the pupil progressed, he would be set to write Latin letters after the model of Cicero; in a number of cases, letter writing is prescribed in the statutes, the most detailed directions being at Rivington:

> 'The elder sort must be exercised in devising and writing sundry epistles, to sundry persons, of sundry matters, as of chiding, exhorting, comforting, counselling, praying, lamenting; some to friends, some to foes, some to strangers; of weighty matters, or merry, as shooting, hunting, etc.; of adversity, of prosperity, of war and peace, divine and profane, of all sciences and occupations, some long and some short.'

Manuals and books of rules were available for the assistance of the enterprising letter-writer, the chief of which was Erasmus: *De Conscribendis Epistolis*; and there were numerous collections of selected letters

by such Renaissance writers as Erasmus, Ascham, and Mantuan.

The next stage was theme writing, in which the text-book was commonly Aphthonius, and the aim 'to be couched full of good matter, written in a pure style, and with judgment.' At Durham, e.g., boys had to 'learn to make a theme according to the precepts of Aphthonius.' Another book, prescribed for the purpose in a number of schools was the *De Copia* of Erasmus (1511), a treatise on style in composition, and dealing with both the language used and the subject matter of the exercise. The several parts of the theme were carefully distinguished for the scholar's benefit, and had to be duly observed: exordium, 'to gain the approbation of the hearers and *their attention*'; narratio, 'that the auditors may fully understand the matter'; confirmatio, proofs, arguments, and reasons, illustrated by quotations; confutatio, 'to consider what may be objected against it, and how to answer them'; conclusio, 'a short recapitulation.' But in spite of all these directions and attempts to reduce theme writing to rule of thumb, young boys naturally found the exercise a difficult one, and the results must have been very discouraging, to the masters at any rate.

How much more, then, must it have been the case with verse writing! This was the most difficult exercise confronting the schoolboy; it might well be considered university work, though there is no doubt that it was attempted and sometimes with success, in schools. The statutes often prescribe it, as e.g., at Durham, where 'for the practice and exercise of versi-

fying, the schoolmaster shall read to them the versifying rules set down in the latter end of our common grammar, [and] the true scanning of a verse; for practice whereof, the scholars shall every second day make certain verses upon a certain argument that shall be given them.' Plenty of examples survive, wooden enough many of them, and interspersed with Anglicisms and even English words where the gifted poet's invention had to help out his Latinity. Thus nearly 3,000 written by d'Ewes at school still exist in MS. Edward VI's own efforts as a boy are likewise preserved; Lord Herbert of Cherbury declares that 'in the space of one day' he made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses on the theme 'Audaces fortuna juvat'; while specimens of the work of the larger schools are to be found, e.g., in four collections of verses written by Eton[1] boys in Elizabeth's reign, and in congratulatory verses composed by boys (and no doubt touched up by masters) on occasions of visits of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth to Winchester.[2]

In all their Latin composition, boys were expected to make considerable use of their phrase books, in which they were supposed to enter from their reading any choice phrases, synonyms, proverbs, quotations, metaphors they might come across; 'a great help where the scholars have leisure and judgment to gather them, but that is over great a toil and requires more judgment than can be looked for in so young years' is Brinsley's practical comment. In default, they

[1] See *Maxwell Lyte*, pp. 169, 186.
[2] See Leach: *Winchester*, pp. 281–2.

would use one of the various printed collections, of which three were specially recommended: Buchler's *Thesaurus*, 'a notable help for variety and copy of poetical phrases'; Textor's *Epitheta*,[1] 'for store of epithets, which if they be choice, are a singular ornament'; and Reusner's *Emblematum*. An ambitious master would no doubt make his own collection to assist his would-be poets.

5. Spoken Latin

There was no way of attaining the necessary fluency of spoken Latin except by constant practice, and by forbidding English, at any rate during school time; the statutes made it a penal offence to use the vernacular during lessons, or at meals, or (often) within the school precincts. In some cases, as in learned households like that of Sir Thomas More, the prohibition extended even to the home; and in Corderius, a boy of thirteen declares that he 'dare not speak to his father except in Latin.' Brinsley naturally thinks it of the greatest importance; he would appoint two seniors in each form to see that 'none speak English nor barbarous Latin,' but the chief safeguard is 'the master's own eye and ear.' Parsing at any rate must be done in Latin; he does not see 'but they may be made to speak Latin at school times, neither that they shall have any great occasions to the contrary.' But for all this, 'it is exceeding hard,' and 'one will wink at another if they be out of the master's hearing.'

[1] Textor is Johannes Ravisius (d. 1524), Prof. of Rhetoric at Paris. His *Epitheta* was printed in 1548.

To secure this desirable end, the founder of Oundle ordained that 'the master and usher do usually speak in the Latin tongue to their scholars that do understand the same; and likewise one scholar to another as well in the school as coming and going to and from the same'; while at Dronfield, Latin scholars were to be corrected with the ferula for speaking English. The Harrow rules similarly direct, with the same cheery optimism, that 'none above the first form shall speak English in the school, or when they are together at play; and for that and for other faults also there shall be two monitors appointed, who shall give up their rolls every Friday in the afternoon; and the schoolmaster shall also appoint privately one other monitor, who shall mark and present the faults of the other two, and other faults which they either negligently omit or willingly let slip.' In this way, we have Hollyband's monitor (or tell-tale?) including amongst other misdemeanours committed by one William, that he 'hath spoken English.'

The Colloquies were intended as guides to the student of colloquial Latin, to increase the training in Latin speaking, and to purge conversational Latin of the barbarisms it had acquired during the Middle Ages. These colloquies began to appear about 1470–1480, and four of them gained wide acceptance in English schools: the *Colloquia* of Erasmus (1512) was, extraordinary as it may seem, easily the 'best seller' of the day, and established the method in the curriculum. It was thus often required by statute, as e.g., at East Retford as at Winchester, and usually for forms II and III. The *Exercitatio* of Vives (1539) was pro-

bably most popular in the first half of the sixteenth century, when it was in use at such important schools as Eton, Winchester, and Shrewsbury: but after that date it was gradually displaced by the *Colloquia* of Corderius (1564), the use of which lingered on in some schools until the early nineteenth century. (The fourth, that of Castellion, dealt with sacred subjects, and has already been described.) These colloquies dealt 'to an increasing extent with the daily life of a boy at home, at school, in the town; and concern themselves with his play and mischief as well as with his work. They show a remarkable love for children, sympathy with boys, and insight into boy nature on the part of men who were yet amongst the first scholars of their age.'

6. Greek and Hebrew

William Lily was the pioneer of Greek teaching in English schools, but it underwent many vicissitudes before becoming firmly established about the beginning of the seventeenth century. This slow progress was partly due to tradition and inertia; partly to lack of books, due to some extent to the printers having insufficient Greek type; but chiefly to the dearth of masters competent to teach it. Thus, at East Retford, Greek grammar was to be taught 'if the master were expert in the same,' and Greek authors 'so far as the master's learning . . . will serve thereunto.' There is no doubt that Greek was a rare accomplishment, even amongst scholars, until the middle of the sixteenth century.

About that time, however, Greek at last began to make headway, and Foster Watson mentions thirteen schools in whose statutes it is prescribed between 1550 and 1600. The same progress is shown by the fact that at Westminster in 1560, Greek was not taught until form VI, while in 1625 it was begun in form IV; and similarly in other large schools like Eton and Merchant Taylors'. Thus Lord Herbert of Cherbury had by the age of twelve learned so much Greek that at Oxford he 'made in Greek the exercises required in college oftener than in Latin.'

The main motive, as in the case of Latin, was religious rather than classical, and hence much use was made of the New Testament (especially the Gospel of John) and of Nowell's Greek catechism, pupils construing them into Latin. Adam Martindale used 'the Greek grammars of Camden first and Clenard afterwards,' together with a Greek catechism and the Greek Testament, 'for I proceeded no further,'—neither in all probability did the vast majority of grammar school scholars, in spite of the ambitious desires of schools like Rivington, for which were prescribed Isocrates and Euripides, and Heath, which was to attempt Hesiod and Homer.

The amount of Hebrew taught must have been small even under the most favourable circumstances, but there were determined attempts to introduce it as a school subject. In the statutes of four schools it is definitely specified, and both Brinsley and Hoole give directions for the best methods of teaching. John Wallis learned Hebrew at school, and John Bois (1561–1644) is said to have been able to read Hebrew

and to write the characters before he was six; but school instruction can rarely have got beyond the letters, a few roots, and 'translating' with the help of the English version parts of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms. Hoole is of opinion that 'it is not very difficult to attain to, because it goeth word for word with our English,' and thinks 'it is rarely attained at the university by any that have not gotten at least the rudiments of it beforehand at a grammar school.' Besides, 'it is no small ornament and commendation to a school.' Westminster was famous for its Hebrew teaching, and even attempted Arabic with success; and some such grounding must have gone to the production of the scholars who gave us the Authorised Version of 1611.

7. Writing and Arithmetic

The grammar schools were founded at a time when the written exercise was beginning to take a prominent place in school practice; but at the same time there was a general lack of skill in writing, and at no period is the average hand harder to read. Indeed, there was so much difficulty in getting sufficient attention paid to it in schools, that prizes were frequently offered for proficiency in the art. The masters, though they might insist, like Brinsley, on an hour's practice daily throughout the school, preferably at one o'clock, 'when their hands are warmest and nimblest,' consistently refused to be burdened with the teaching of it, or to waste their time setting copies. Brinsley, indeed, naïvely confesses that 'few masters or ushers

are fit penmen to write such copies as are necessary,' and one of two devices was accordingly adopted to overcome the difficulty.

In the large towns, boys were sent after morning and afternoon school (i.e., about eleven and five o'clock) to a writing master, who would set them copies for next day, and criticize their previous efforts. In the country grammar schools, however, writing was usually taught intensively by a travelling scrivener, who would spend a month or six weeks of the year at each school; Hoole recommends May as the best time, 'because the days are then pretty long.' A mere manual dexterity like writing could not of course be allowed to interfere with the business of gerund grinding, and it will be seen later that writing practice was often relegated to spare times and 'holidays.' At St. Bees, however, the fortunate usher was to 'have 4d. apiece yearly of everyone that he shall teach to write, so long as he taketh pains with them.'

Arithmetic, if taught at all, was likewise crowded in at the end of an afternoon, when the main business of the day was over, or on the weekly half-holiday; neither the boys, who were thus deprived of their free time, nor the usher who (as at Ipswich and Wellingborough) was usually condemned to spend some of his scanty leisure teaching them, would be likely to pay overmuch attention to the subject. In fact, Brinsley complains that boys are sometimes so ignorant, even of the very figures, that they can 'hardly tell the number of pages, sections, chapters, or other divisions in their books to find what they should.' However, it is not his business to teach them so inferior a sub-

A SCHOOLMASTER AND SCHOLARS

This is supposed to represent Thomas Beard of Huntingdon, Oliver Cromwell's schoolmaster, who died in 1632. Note the titles on the textbooks.

ject: 'if you do require more for any, you must seek Record's *Arithmetic*, or other like authors, and set them to the ciphering school.' Charterhouse, however, was a notable exception, for there boys were to learn 'to cipher and cast an account, especially those that are less capable of learning and fittest to be set to trades.' It thus happened that a clever boy of fifteen or sixteen, ready for the university, might be completely ignorant of the subject, as e.g., was John Wallis[1] on leaving Felsted in 1631. He relates that he picked up from a younger brother in the Christmas holidays 'my first insight into mathematics, and all the teaching I had.' This consisted of 'the practical part of common arithmetic in numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division; rule of three (direct and inverse), rule of fellowship (with and without time), rule of false position, rules of practice and reduction of coins, and some other little things.' So hardly was even such a smattering of mathematics, a comparatively 'respectable' subject hallowed by antiquity and thus worthy of a scholar's attention, winning a place in the curriculum; a fight which was yet to be waged and won, first on behalf of modern languages and then by science.

Such a curriculum, almost entirely confined to the study of one language, might well be considered impossible; but once the grammar was mastered, things were not quite so monotonous or uninteresting as might appear at first sight. The colloquies dealt with many aspects and activities of life, while intelli-

[1] Printed in *Adamson*, p. 185.

gent masters would set interesting and varied subjects for themes, dealing with topics in art and science, history and literature, as well as the dry bones of logic and philosophy. Such of the masters as were men of letters or of affairs can hardly have been so insufferably dull in the schoolroom; and in the case of a wise schoolmaster and a diligent pupil, the result was a classicist in touch with all the knowledge of the age. But it must have taken the average boy a long time to grasp the purpose of all this drudgery; and for every one scholar who brought much fruit to perfection, how many must have fallen by the wayside?

CHAPTER V

TEACHING

1. School Hours

NOTHING in these days causes more astonishment than the enormous amount of time spent in school; though when Brinsley declares peremptorily that 'school time should begin at six' it must be remembered that folk rose earlier in Elizabethan times than now. The statutes however bear him out: thus at Hawkeshead work was to begin 'at six of the clock in the morning, or at the furthest within one half hour after, and so continue until eleven of the clock in the forenoon; and to begin at one of the clock in the afternoon, and so continue until five of the clock at night.' A comparison of the various times laid down shows the commonest school hours to be 6—11 in the morning (7—11 in winter, i.e., October to March), and 1—5 or 6 in the afternoon, according to the season; thus making a total of from eight to ten hours daily, in which Brinsley allows 'breaks' of about a quarter of an hour, one about nine, 'either for breakfast . . . or else for the necessity of everyone, or their honest recreation, or to prepare their exercises,' and another about three 'for drinking and necessities.' In this way he finds 'they will sit very well in their places for

two hours together, or two hours and a half, without any weariness or necessity, observing duly those times.' It was all very well for an enlightened man like Mulcaster to advocate a six hour day, from 7 to 10, and from 2 to 5, 'the most fitting hours and quite enough for children to be learned'; public opinion, and especially parental opinion, was against him, preferring that boys should be out of harm's way in school, rather than running the streets and getting into mischief.

The colloquies frequently represent the boy himself getting up hurriedly in the morning, and setting out for school in the early hours (often while it was yet dark), and of course without any breakfast. Erasmus describes a boy running to school at 5.30 a.m., and meeting a schoolfellow, to whom he complains 'unless I am there in time, before the bill is called over, I am sure to be whipped,' and that 'I must say by heart a good long lesson from yesterday, and I am afraid I cannot say it.' His friend confesses, 'I am in the same case with you, for I myself have hardly got mine as it should be.' 'Let us say one to another, one repeating and the other looking on the book,' and so they hurry on their way complaining meanwhile of their master's severity.

The penalties for being late were serious; boys were commonly 'beaten every time they come over late,' so that they came 'with a marvellous ill-will, and had often to be dragged to the school.' Brinsley strongly condemns such 'far too great severity,' and finds a more effective way to ensure punctuality is to let their places in form depend upon the order of their

arrival. Indulgent fathers often sought to save their tardy sons from the master's wrath: 'Pray your master to come to-morrow to dinner with me,' says the parent of one of Hollyband's pupils when his son has lain abed after seven o'clock; 'that will keep you from beating.'

Absence from any cause other than illness caused much more concern, and was more severely punished 'by loss of place, and correction too if the fault be found anyway in themselves; or at least to sit still on the play days to learn when their fellows play, to recover that time again. . . . This will make the parents to amend it.' There is considerable knowledge of human nature in the provision at Giggleswick: 'No scholar . . . shall absent himself from school any day, and especially the days now or hereafter for exercises to be appointed,' an expedient not entirely extinct even in these days. From the schoolmaster's point of view, however, the problem of irregular attendance was evidently very serious; Brinsley complains that 'some of them are away two or three days in a week, and sometimes haply a month together, or almost a quarter of the year, as in harvest time . . . and yet the parents will expect that they should profit as much as if they were there daily.' For such absence, a boy was to be 'sharply corrected,' and often his parents were fined, as at Sandwich, where they had to 'pay to the common box for every day's absence a penny as the days come to.' At Shrewsbury, if a boy were more than a week late in returning after the holidays, unless prevented by sickness or other urgent cause, his entrance fees had

to be paid over again; while at Coventry, a boy who was absent for a month together had to pay '12d. more for his admittance again.' Some schools dealt summarily with the problem by expulsion, as at Merchant Taylors', where 'if any child . . . shall be absent from the school by the space of three weeks together, without sickness or other reasonable let, . . . it were best that such a child for no man's suit shall be thereafter received into our school.' At Kirkby Stephen, the limit was twenty days in the year, while at Alford the same penalty was incurred for as little as six days' absence, or the practice of being 'commonly absent'; but in exceptional cases reinstatement was allowed, as e.g., at St. Alban's, by special suit to the master and governors, and payment of a second entrance fee.

2. HOLIDAYS

These long hours were not mitigated to any great extent by frequent or lengthy holidays. The Tudors considered that hours spent in play were waste of valuable time; games were only tolerated to freshen the mind and body, and not for mere enjoyment and relaxation. 'Remedies,' or times for play, were normally on one afternoon a week, usually on Thursday, though the stern founder of St. Paul's decreed 'I will that they shall have no remedies. If the master granteth any remedies, he shall forfeit forty shillings, except the King, or an Archbishop, or Bishop present in his own person in the school desire it.' In any case, the masters were strictly prohibited

from exceeding their holiday allowance; thus at Sandwich, he 'shall not give remedies or leave to play above once in a week,' unless asked by some 'honourable or worshipful person,' and then 'not without showing some exercise of learning in the presence of him that asketh the same.' It was in this way that Master Slender, in the *Merry Wives*, 'is get the boys leave to play,' and so earned their gratitude, if not perhaps that of their master. Amongst the Shrewsbury records is a formal permission, duly signed by the bailiffs, for the boys to play on a Tuesday afternoon in May, 1613, at the request of a local worthy. But since benefactors of this kind had usually to listen to schoolboy orations before the holiday could take place, the number of extra 'halves' would probably be kept within reasonable limits from fear of the ordeal to be undergone.

Saints' days and other holy days were usually holidays, after compulsory attendance at church in the morning; and on one never-to-be-forgotten day in Rogation week came the perambulation of the parish, when the whole school would accompany the clergy, corporation, magistrates, and inhabitants generally, in procession round the boundaries. This ceremony not only helped to preserve an accurate knowledge of these boundaries, but gave the clergy an opportunity of admonishing their people to thankfulness for all God's benefits. Refreshments were provided at various points; and the youngsters' enjoyment of the holiday would not be much lessened by the chance of being thrown into a river at a point where the boundary crossed it, or of being 'bumped' against a wall, tree,

post, or other hard object which happened to be near. This would seem to be a more effectual way of impressing the youthful memory than that adopted by Hooker, of 'dropping some loving and facetious observations to be remembered against next year, especially by boys and young people.' Other welcome interruptions of school work were necessary on fair days, when boys had to remain at home because of the crowds of undesirables thronging the streets and market place, and because 'no quiet moment can be had for some days for the purposes of study,' (Thame) while most school statutes contain provision for carrying on the school during the prevalence of plague. When the school had to be closed for this cause, the master and usher usually received their salaries, 'being in readiness to teach so soon as God shall make such contagious sickness cease' (Sandwich), though at Merchant Taylors' the salaries were halved, when 'both the master and the usher must have patience in such a case.' They were to take such precautions for their personal safety as they could; while at Shrewsbury (which suffered much from sweating sickness in 1575–6 and again in 1604–5), if the parents liked to club together to provide a house in the country, they could call upon the services of the staff. One can hardly suppose that boys would have been as much upset at such happenings as they should have been, or would have considered such holidays as bought at too high a price.

But in many cases these 'holidays' meant merely change of occupation; on them, e.g., at Kirkby Stephen boys were to 'apply writing, making of

epistles, or other devout and virtuous endeavours and exercises as the opportunity of the time and the schoolmaster's discretion shall appoint'; and similarly, Hoole recommends that school should end on Tuesday at four, and on Thursday at three or earlier, so that writing or ciphering may be done. At Houghton, the usher was to 'teach on playing days the space of an hour to write, cipher, and understand figures'; at St. Bees, 'upon Saturdays and half holidays in the afternoon, they shall apply their writing by the space of two hours; and the master and usher shall in the meantime examine such of their scholars as they think meet in the catechism'; while at Bungay, the programme was to be 'writing and casting accounts with pen and counters.' No doubt a thoroughly unpopular arrangement, with masters as well as boys.

The school year was then divided into four quarters instead of into three terms, but this did not as a rule mean four vacations. The usual number was three, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, though the time was considerably longer than is generally imagined. Alford and Hawkeshead were unlucky in having only two holidays, at Christmas and Easter; at the former these lasted from December 20 to January 7, and from the Tuesday before Easter to the Sunday week after, i.e., 19 +.13 days. At Uppingham, the master 'may intermit teaching of school on December 10 before Christmas, and must teach school again on the Monday after Twelfth Day (= Epiphany). He may give over the Thursday before Easter day and Whitsunday and must teach school again the Monday sevennight

following,' giving about 27 + 11 + 11 days. These holidays were longer than most, for Dronfield had 30 days in all, Shrewsbury 39, and Coventry 42. The third holiday at Eton was 22 days from Ascension Day to Corpus Christi, while Giggleswick had three weeks at the master's discretion, 'when he thinketh it most convenient for his scholars to be exercised in writing under a scrivener, for their better exercise in that faculty.' A few fortunate schools had a fourth holiday at Michaelmas, as at Thame, where the holidays (rather over a fortnight each) reached the unusually generous total of 72 days.[1]

It would appear, therefore, that school holidays varied from five to eight weeks in the year; so that the school year consisted of some 40 to 44 weeks of six days each, which means that during the year boys spent in school at least 2,000 hours,[2] more than double the time spent in these degenerate days. Only by such means could the Elizabethan schoolmaster get through his ambitious programme to time.

3. FORMS

The custom of dividing a school for convenience of teaching into forms according to its numbers and the standard reached, was adopted by other schools from Winchester; a division into master's and usher's schools was natural enough, but further subdivision

[1] These holidays were: Fourth day before Christmas to week-day following Epiphany; fourth day before Easter and Pentecost to thirteenth or fourteenth day after; second day before Michaelmas to not more than fifteen days later.

[2] Fearon's estimate in S.I.C. is 1826 hours.

was generally found necessary. The number of forms varied from three at Oundle up to seven at Eton, but from four to six appears to have been the most common number. Brinsley thinks there should be 'so few forms as may be, if so many can anyway be fitted to go together; though they be 16 or 20, yea 40 in a form, it is not the worse, for it is almost as much labour to teach 20 as to teach two,' and moreover 'the fewer forms there are, the more time may be spent in each form.' In a few cases the work is assigned by statute to the various forms, the most detailed directions being at Sandwich and at East Retford, which may be summarized as follows:

SANDWICH:

Usher's Forms:

I. Accidence to rules of construction, nouns, verbs.

II. Rules of construction; Cato; making of Latin.

III. Latin catechism; dialogues of Castellion; Latin-English and English-Latin translation.

Master's Forms:

IV. Terence, Cicero's *Epistles* (ed. Sturm), Aphthonius.

V. Sallust, Cicero's *Offices*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, Rules of versifying, disputing extempore.

VI. Cicero's orations. Aeneid. Horace (*Epistles*, and 'certain of his chaste odes chosen.') Making of verses.

EAST RETFORD:

Form I. Inflection of verbs and nouns. Easy epistles of Cicero.

II. Remainder of the Accidence, Syntax. *Colloquies* of Erasmus. Harder epistles of Cicero. English-Latin translation. The Old Testament Scriptures. Sallust, Salern; Justinian's *Institutes*, 'if the master and usher be seen in the same.'

III. Virgil. Ovid. Cicero's *Epistles*. Erasmus: *De Copia*. English-Latin translation.

IV. Verse making. Writing Epistles. Greek and Hebrew grammar.

These syllabuses may be compared with the practice in larger schools, such as Winchester and Eton:

WINCHESTER (1550):

Lower IV. Ovid (*Tristia*, *Metamorphoses*, *Fasti*), *Colloquies* of Erasmus.

IV. Ovid as before; Cicero: *De Officiis*; Latin catechism.

V. Martial. Cicero: *Orations*. Aeneid. Pindar. Horace: *Satires* and *Epistles*. Greek catechism. Musaeus. Hesiod.

VI. Martial. Aeneid. Cicero. Homer. Terence.

ETON (1560):

I. Cato, Vives.

II. Terence. Lucian's dialogues. Æsop's *Fables*.

III. Terence. Æsop. Cicero's *Epistles* (Sturm).[1]

[1] Johannes Sturmius (1507–1589) rector of the famous school at Strasburg and the greatest Protestant scholar of his day. His widely used selection from Cicero's *Epistles* was printed at Prague in 1577.

IV. Terence. Ovid (*Tristia*). Martial (*Epigrams*.) Catullus. Sir Thomas More.
V. Ovid (*Metamorphoses*.) Horace. Cicero (*Epistles*). Valerius Maximus. Lucius Florus. Justin. Susenbrotus.[1]
VI. and VII. Caesar (*Commentaries*), Cicero (*de Officiis*, *de Amicitia*.) Virgil. Lucan. Greek grammar.

A still more detailed account of the work of the various forms is given by William Kemp, who describes what was apparently his own practice at Plymouth. In the first form 'a boy shall begin to learn the grammar in the Latin tongue'; then, 'being about eight years old, let him move forth into the second form to practise the precepts of grammar in expounding and unfolding the works of Latin authors,' such as the dialogues of Corderius and Castellion. 'And so having ended his year, let him move forward into the third form, the which . . . he shall read Tully's epistles collected by Sturmius, and have the exercise of writing Latin by imitation.' In the fourth form, the work is to be similar but harder; 'then to the fifth form shall be read Terence's comedies, Tully's treatises on Friendship and Old Age, whereunto let Ovid de Tristibus or some such within a while be added for poetry,' by which time he will be twelve years old. In this form he is also to begin Greek. Then follow logic and rhetoric, together with Tully's *Offices* and *Orations*, Caesar's *Commentaries*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Horace.

[1] Johannes Susenbrotus wrote a very succinct epitome of Rhetoric in 1540.

'After three years' exercise in this degree of study he may ascend to arithmetic and geometry, and easily pass through these arts in half a year, and so before the full age of fifteen years'; a verdict with which the mathematician can hardly be expected to agree.

4. Time-Tables

The usual practice in schools was as follows: At seven o'clock teaching began for the day, and normally there would be two sessions of at least two hours each both in the morning and in the afternoon, perhaps with short 'breaks' at nine and three. On Monday morning, the first business would be an examination on the sermon of the previous Sunday; Thursday afternoon was usually the weekly half-holiday; Friday was mainly devoted to revision of the week's work, repetitions, and examinations; while on Saturdays, boys learned their catechism, or practised arithmetic, or the proceedings might be varied with declamations by some of the senior scholars. Friday was also the day on which the monitors' bills were handed in, and proper chastisement meted out to offenders. Otherwise there was little enough to relieve the daily monotony.

The earliest actual time-tables extant were obtained by new schools desiring to follow in the footsteps of Eton and Winchester; thus Cuckfield (1528) has the current Eton time-table set out in its statutes, and those of Eton and Winchester were obtained for use at Saffron Walden (1530). A specimen time-table for the end of the sixteenth century is given by D. R.

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Featon,[1] from which two typical days from the middle of the week may be quoted :—

FORM.	TUESDAY.		WEDNESDAY.	
	MORNING.	AFTERNOON.	MORNING.	AFTERNOON.
I	Grammar	English New Testament or Psalms	As Tuesday.	As Tuesday
II	*Colloquies* of Erasmus, or *Dialogues* of Corderius	Translation from English into Latin	Cato	As Tuesday
III	Ascham's or Cicero's letters or Terence. Vulgaria in prose	Latin syntax or Greek grammar or figures of Susenbrotus	Palingenius, or Psalms of Hess. Paraphrase of a sentence	As Tuesday
IV	Cicero de Senectute or de Amicitia, or Justin	Do.	Ovid : *Tristia*, or Seneca : *Tragedies*	Prose theme
V	Cicero, or Sallust or Caesar. Verse theme	Do.	Ovid : *Metamorphoses* or Virgil or Lucan	As Tuesday

An extraordinarily detailed account, in verse, of a day at Winchester about 1550 was written by Christopher Johnson, later (1560–1571) headmaster of his old school. The 'poet' carries us through the day, from 5 a.m. when the prefect shouts 'Surgite,' and boys wash, hurry on their clothes, and make their beds,

[1] S.I.C., VII, 262–3.

ready for chapel at 5.30, until 8 p.m. chapel and 8.15 bed. There were four meals—jentaculum at 9, prandium at 12, caena at 6, and meranda at 7.45, with beer drinking at 4.30. The school periods lasted from 6–9, 11–12, 1–3.30, and 4–5, in all 7½ hours, with, in addition, two periods of 'prep.' in the intervals from 9.30 to 11 and from 6.30 to 7.45. All this means over ten hours' work, and the only free time from 5 to 6.30; masters had evidently no intention of leaving any chance for mischief being found for idle hands.

Somewhat later, Malim of Eton drew up a Consuetudinarium, or description of school customs, for the Royal Commission of 1561. The daily routine was similar to that at Winchester; boys were wakened at 5, when they chanted prayers, made their beds and swept under them, and washed at the pump, ready for prayers at 6, when there were monitors on the lookout for late comers as well as for dirty hands and faces. Bedtime was at 8, when there was further chanting of prayers. From 6–9, 10–11, 12–3, and 4–5 boys were in school, making a total of eight hours, together with two hours' prep. under monitors from 6 to 8. Meal times were as follows: breakfast at 9, dinner at 11, supper at 5, and 'bread and beer' at 7.

A typical day at Westminster[1] about 1620–1630 is described for us by a sixth form boy of the time; he is called at 5.15 by one of the monitors, says the prescribed Latin prayers, washes in the cloisters, and is in school by 6. He has intervals from 8–9 for breakfast, 11–1 for dinner, and 3–4 in the afternoon, his school

[1] Dom. Papers, *Charles I*, Vol. CLXXXI, 37 reprinted in G. F. Russell-Barker: *Memoir of Richard Busby* (1895), pp. 72–82.

periods totalling seven hours (6–8, 9–11, 1–3, 4–5), but even then he has not finished, for 'after supper in summer the master instructs them out of Hunter's *Cosmography*, and they were practised to describe and find out cities and countries on the maps.' It is unfortunate, though perhaps natural, that all these detailed accounts should refer to the larger schools.

5. Teaching Methods

In mediæval schools, the lack of sufficient books and the frequent errors in cheap MSS. had compelled teachers to adopt oral methods ; and this oral tradition had become firmly established by the time the invention of printing had made books both cheaper and more numerous. But even well into the sixteenth century, lesson books were scarce and expensive ; and this fact, combined with the limitation of written exercises due to the high cost of paper and lack of skill in writing, compelled masters to continue the lecture method. By this means, large numbers could be taught at once and so kept busy, but most of the real work devolved upon the master. All the class was expected to do was, to take in, remember, and reproduce on demand, what he had taught them. Everything had to be said 'without book,' and all this rote learning imposed the necessity of weekly repetitions, favoured the shirker, placed too much dependence upon the memory, and usually led to things being done 'without understanding the reason of them, or how to make use of anything.' Thus, Fearon comments, 'it is not likely that boys did much

real hard work except when actually engaged with the teacher.'

The method of teaching the grammar adopted by intelligent masters like Brinsley was as follows:

(1) 'Read them over their lesson. Then show them the meaning of everything so easily, shortly, and familiarly as possibly you can. . . . After, propound all unto them in short questions, directly in order as they lie in the book, answering them first yourself. Then, if you will, you may ask them the same questions, and let them answer them as you did before, still looking upon their books.' It is essential that the pupil shall understand his lesson before he learns it.

(2) Then, 'let them help one another, as they will do, learning it together, and every one will draw on another; one of them ever reading over the lesson that all the rest may hear, and the rest telling when he misseth; and so never idle till all can read it.'

(3) When this is done satisfactorily, 'let them begin to learn it without book . . . [taking] but little at a time so as they may be able to get it quickly and well . . . for this will hearten them exceedingly to take pains.'

(4) Finally, there must be constant drilling and revision; weekly repetitions and frequent examinations lest what is once learnt should be forgotten.

All of which assumes an anxiety to learn on the part of the boy; and involves in any case an astounding feat of memory, as Ascham quaintly says, 'Their whole knowledge of learning without book was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head.'

In the study of Latin authors, translations were usually objected to by 'the best and wisest schoolmasters,' because 'they lead scholars amiss very ordinarily in construing,' and 'they are found also to make scholars . . . go by rote, which is worse.' Brinsley, however, approves of the word-for-word type, 'the English word or phrase set after the Latin'; he published a number of such translations himself, and explains how he intends them to be used:

'Appoint another to read over their lecture in the Latin distinctly, and try how he can construe . . . beating it out according to the rule. In the mean time, cause him that hath the translation to be instead of yourself amongst the rest, to see that they go right; and where the construer sticketh or goeth amiss, to call him back to the rule, and wish the rest to help to find it out by the same rule. And when all the form are at a stand, and none of them can beat it out, then only he that hath the book to do it.'

Disputations were a mediæval school method which survived through the sixteenth century into the seventeenth, with a scope usually restricted to grammatical subjects. Brinsley highly approves of it, for it 'cannot but be a marvellous profitable exercise,' and boys even had manuals for the purpose, the best known of which was one by John Stockwood, master of Tonbridge (1598). He suggests sixty-one subjects suitable for disputations, most of them, however, entirely devoid of interest to a schoolboy; but the method certainly sharpened the wits and 'rubbed in' what was learned, and besides encouraged research to find illustrative examples from the classics. Hoole recommends three o'clock on Friday afternoon as the

most suitable time; and the method is often required by statute, as at Harrow:

'The school shall every day for the space of an hour, hear either the third, fourth, or fifth forms amongst themselves propound questions and answers one to another, of cases, declinings, comparison of nouns, conjugations moods and tenses of verbs, of understanding of the grammar rules, of the meanings of proverbs and sentences, or of the quantity of syllables; so that every of these forms shall every week use this exercise twice, and they which answer the first time shall propound questions the latter time, and they which do best shall go, sit, and have place before their fellows for the time.'

St. Bees was more ambitious, for there every Saturday in the forenoon, 'when any of them shall be thought able, two shall be appointed weekly to declaim upon some theme by heart the same day before dinner . . . and during the reciting of the said declamations, the rest of the scholars shall be attentive.' A very necessary rule, one would imagine.

It was for such purposes, and to encourage 'emulation and honest strife and contention' to the utmost, that forms were divided into two equal parts, so that 'all may sit as adversaries.' The election of leaders was done as follows: 'All in a form to name who is best in their form, and so who is the best next to him,' and then these two picked up sides, choosing alternately, so that 'they will choose very equally and without partiality.' The leaders and sides were changed once a quarter in senior forms, and more often (once a month) with juniors.

With the double object of testing the boys' know-

ledge and of keeping the masters up to the mark, a few schools like Merchant Taylors' had examinations after the modern style. These were called 'probations,' and were held in March, September, and December; on the results of them a boy's promotion, and even his continuance in the school, depended. The master 'shall propound several exercises, such as a dialogue, epistle, theme, sentence or verse, to be done in writing within a set time,' under strict supervision. The master and three ushers 'shall carefully with a watchful eye provide that no scholar of any form do prompt or once lean towards his fellow for help.' The papers were to be bound together and kept for future reference ('he shall not in any time diminish any one of them'); if the results were satisfactory, the staff received an honorarium to be divided between them; 'but if any scholar shall be found on three several probation days to be absent from school, or having been present, by his over slender and weak exercises to be unapted and unmeet to learn . . . he shall be dismissed the school.' Most schools, however, limited themselves to a sort of public examination once a year, when everyone had to provide 'some exercise fair written . . . according to the daily exercises of each form,' and the master and usher would test 'what the children can do in every form both, in their grammar and authors.' Having gained some confidence in this way, the unfortunate pupils would then be questioned by any parents or friends who cared to do so; and woe betide the unlucky boy who failed to do his master credit.

Pictures of the master actually engaged in teaching,

or more frequently hearing lessons, adorn many school books of the period, not (it is to be feared) greatly to the encouragement of their users. Thus Seager's *School of Virtue* shows the master questioning a single boy while seven others hover in the background. Some school seals represent similar scenes; at Louth, half a dozen boys watch with singular unconcern another being birched; at Uppingham, the master sits at a table (on which are his book and a birch), while six boys with books stand round him; at Camberwell the master has a larger class of a dozen, and is armed with a ferula. The usual procedure can easily be imagined; the master, wearing his cap and gown, sits on his chair, brandishing a large birch or equally fearsome ferula, or at least having it within easy reach in case of need, while the boys stand round, each with a book in his hand, and no doubt dismay in his heart, waiting his turn in fear and trembling.

6. School Functions

The public functions in Elizabethan schools were primarily part of the normal school activities, and only secondarily spectacles or entertainments to which parents of boys and friends of the school were invited. Speech days and prize distributions were practically unknown, their place being taken to some extent by disputations.

In many schools it was the custom to give an annual parade of learning, as at Tonbridge, where 'I will that every year, once, to wit, the first or second day after

A MASTER TEACHING,

with the assistance of a large birch.

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May-day, there be kept in this school disputations upon questions provided by the master, from one of the clock till evensong time, at which disputations I will that the master desire the vicar of the town, with one or two others of knowledge or more dwelling nigh, to be present in the school if it please them to hear the same.' At Sandwich, the disputations were to be held on the Tuesday after Michaelmas, from 7 or 8 o'clock until 10 or 11 (a trying three hours' ordeal for everyone), in the presence of the clergy and learned men of the district, who were to decide which three boys of the school had acquitted themselves best. These were to receive pens value 2s. 6d., 2s., and 20d. respectively, as prizes; whereupon, the whole company were to adjourn to the church, two by two, the three victors coming next to the master and usher, and wearing garlands on their heads, 'to say or sing some convenient psalm or hymn, with a collect.' A list[1] of some fifty subjects considered suitable for such disputations by boys is given in the *Formulae Oratoriae* of John Clarke, master of Lincoln (1638). The following are fair specimens; rather strong meat for schoolboys, some of them. For though they might be expected to have something to say on such a question as 'Whether a public school is to be preferred to a private school?' they would probably find an abstract theme like 'Whether what is good for the body may be bad for the soul?' or 'Whether we are as much as we know?' a tough proposition; while one would hope that they would find others, like 'If he who marries a wife bids farewell to liberty?'

[1] Printed in *Foster Watson*, p. 465–7.

although it might appeal to the audience, entirely out of their range. One can imagine with Peacham the master on such occasions trotting out his 'one or two prime or able wits . . . which he culs out to admiration . . . as a costardmonger his fairest pippins.'

A minor function of the same kind often took place at the end of each term, when Hoole would 'invite his scholars' parents, together with such gentlemen and ministers as he is better acquainted withal, as well to take notice of what his scholars in every form are able to do, as to grace him with their company. Let the scholars in each form be furnished with such exercises as belong to them, in loose papers, and have all their translations writ fairly in their books, to be ready to show to anyone that shall desire to look upon them. . . . The higher forms should entertain the company with some elegant Latin comedy out of Terence or Plautus, and part of a Greek one out of Aristophanes, as also with such orations and declamations, and copies of several sorts of verses, as are most proper for celebrating the solemnity of the time at hand, and to give satisfaction to the present meeting. The lesser boys should remain orderly in their forms, to be ready to give answer to anyone that shall examine them in what they have learned, or would know what they are able to perform.' A trying time for all, one would imagine, and perhaps hardly as entertaining to the visitors as Hoole seems to assume.

The school plays referred to above were very popular with boys, who would welcome any relief from the monotony of sitting still; and were much encouraged by progressive masters since they helped

materially the speaking of Latin. Classical plays were most favoured, but masters soon went outside these limits, and a source book extensively used was the *Terentius Christianus* of Schonaeus,[1] a collection of plays on Biblical subjects in the style of Terence. Many masters, like Udall of Eton and Mulcaster of St. Paul's, were accustomed to write their own plays for the purpose, often but by no means invariably in Latin; and the Westminster play, to be performed in hall between Christmas and Twelfth Night, is the one survivor of what was once a universal practice.

Records of such performances dating from 1520–1530 exist for St. Paul's and Eton; and from 1570–1580 for Westminster and Merchant Taylors', many of the latter being court performances before the Queen. Particulars of expenses and inventories of dresses also survive. In London, performances by boys were nearly as frequent as those by men, so that Ben Jonson voices the complaints of parents when he says, in his *Staple of News* (1626): 'They make all their scholars play-boys. Is it not a fine sight to see all our children interluders? Do we pay our money for this? We send them to learn their grammar and their Terence, and they learn their play-books.' These plays, interludes, and moralities have usually disappeared, the few survivors existing as a rule in MS. only. The subjects appear to have been very varied. Some were Biblical, the Prodigal Son, and the story of Jacob and Esau being favourites; most were classical, such as *Dido* (by John Ritwyse of St. Paul's, performed

[1] End of sixteenth century. Cornelius Schonæus, Rector of the School at Haarlem.

before Wolsey in 1527), *Scipio Africanus*, *Damon and Pythias*, *Perseus and Andromeda*. 'Modern' adaptations of Terence and Plautus, topical versions of Italian tales, and original farcical comedies were all popular, but there are no records of boys performing Shakespeare.

Such performances were not confined to London, for Shrewsbury was specially famous for its plays and pageants, which took place in an open-air theatre in the Quarry, then waste ground outside the walls. Under Ashton and his successor Lawrence these formed a prominent feature of school life, ranging from one act of a comedy by the top form every Thursday, to ambitious entertainments like the *Passion of Christ*, which lasted all the Whitsun holidays and drew 20,000 spectators. Nor did the smaller schools lag behind; for there are records of contributions by corporations to the expense of plays in such schools as Canterbury and Southampton, while the Sandwich statutes provided that 'at every Christmas time, if the master do think meet, to have one comedy or tragedy of chaste matter in Latin to be played, the parts to be divided to as many scholars as may be, and to be learned at vacant times.'

CHAPTER VI

DISCIPLINE

I. MANNERS

THE training in manners, practised in the households of the great nobles, was imitated in the schools as a set subject of instruction, and formed a definite part of school work. A boy was not to come to school 'uncombed, unwashed, ragged, or slovenly' (Harrow), nor to 'use long hair on his head undecently' (Heath). At Manchester, no scholar was to wear at school 'any dagger, hanger, or other weapon . . . except a meat knife'; he was to 'come early to school, without lingering, play, or noise by the way, saluting those he met bareheaded.' (Heath.)

On arriving at school, he was to salute his master first: 'Salve, magister,' with his cap under his arm: 'uncover your head and bow your right knee as you have been taught,' admonishes Vives. Then he is to greet his school fellows, go straight to his seat, undo his satchel, take out his books, and learn his lesson; in the words of Seager's doggerel verse:

> 'Sit down in thy place, thy satchel untie,
> Thy books take out, thy lesson apply.'

When spoken to by the master, he is to stand upright, and not shuffle his feet; to keep his hands still and not scratch his head or pick his ears; to look at his

master and to answer in a few words, 'every now and then prefacing with some title of respect, and sometimes using a title of honour; and now and then make a bow, especially when you have done speaking. Nor do you go away without asking leave, or being bid to go.' (Erasmus.) Similarly at Heath: 'When the master or usher or any stranger entereth into the school, they salute them, rising up dutifully, and presently sit down again with silence, and apply their books.'

In school, a boy is to remain in his place, and not 'wander up and down in the school' (Heath), or as Hoole expresses it, go 'gadding out of his place under a pretence of asking abler boys to help him in construing and parsing.' He is to learn his lesson 'in a soft manner, so that he does not become a hindrance to others' (Vives), while Hollyband, with heavy sarcasm, recommends one who cannot work quietly to 'go into some garden or churchyard, and there let him speak so loud that he awake the dead.' At Thame, there were solemn injunctions about shutting doors quietly; and the master and usher were even forbidden to keep their wives and families at school, because it 'ought to be kept in a state of complete quiet and silence, so that no improper disturbance may arise in any way to interfere with the studies of the school.' It may well be doubted if such directions were ever very effective in attaining their object.

To escape from the drudgery of school, boys would frequently try to gain a momentary relief by asking to 'be excused,' or 'running out to the campo' (i.e., playground), as Brinsley expresses it in the

schoolboy slang of the day, and too often 'without necessity only, upon desire of idleness or play.' (It is remarkable how little boy nature has changed in this, as in other respects.) To keep a check on those going out for necessary purposes, a staff or baton was used as a pass, and lazy boys would 'watch and strive for the club'; 'there is no day but they will look for so much time or more to the campo.' Hoole's plan is to make the boy 'lay down his book, with his name writ in it, in a place appointed within the master's view, so that it may be known at once both how many and who are *out of doors*, and how long they tarry abroad.' But before being given permission, a boy would have to repeat so many phrases or vocabularies, and some more on his return.

When going home, a boy is not to 'run in heaps' with his schoolfellows 'like a swarm of bees,' nor to 'shout or whoop' in the streets. At St. Bees, boys are to go 'two and two together so far as their way lieth, without wandering or gadding out of order.' Hollyband dismisses his scholars in the evenings with advice mingled with threats. 'Rehearse after supper the lesson which you will learn to-morrow morning, and read it six or seven times; then sleep on it. You shall see to-morrow morning you will learn it easily and soon. . . . You shall be whipped to-morrow morning if you miss a word of it only. . . . Take heed you play not by the ways';—to all of which the boys, eager to be gone, reply in chorus, 'God give you good evening and good night; good rest, master.' Do we detect more than a faint trace of irony under all this politeness?

To assist in driving home this code of schoolboy manners, a boy was confronted in his grammar with a Latin 'poem,' de Moribus,[1] beginning with the familiar words 'Qui mihi discipulus.' This was a versified summary of schoolroom behaviour, the eighty-six lines of which were probably better known in English schools than any in the classics, as containing 'pretty precepts of good manners, much befitting children to observe' (Hoole). Seager's *School of Virtue* (1557) was also very popular, amongst schoolmasters at any rate, and perhaps (being in English) amongst boys also; it was a collection of doggerel verses of which a sample has been already quoted on page 113. The gifted poet follows his victim into school, and at the same time attends to his table manners and morals, e.g.,

> 'Not smacking thy lips as commonly do hogs,
> Nor gnawing the bones as it were dogs,' or
> 'In vain take not the name of God,
> Swear not at all for fear of the rod,'

good advice no doubt, if poor poetry. Rhodes' *Book of Nurture* concentrates on table manners:

> 'Fill not thy trencher, I thee rid
> With morsels great and large,
> Cram not thy mouth too full, nor yet
> Thy stomach overcharge'

is a favourable specimen. Rhymed prayers and graces are also provided; and although Brinsley may think that children 'will soon learn and take a delight in them through the roundness of the metre,' a normal

[1] Translation in full in *Adamson*, pp. 130–2.

boy must have become somewhat restive under this continual sermonizing. Yet, for all that, as Hoole says, 'The sweet and orderly behaviour of children addeth more credit to a school than due and constant teaching.'

2. Disorder

But things were not always so peaceful and orderly within the schoolroom as the founders decreed and the masters desired. They, poor men, saddled with an uninteresting and monotonous curriculum, were faced with the daily problem of keeping their hordes of young ruffians in order and at work, sometimes for as much as ten hours a day. The state to which such a crowd of youngsters would soon be reduced can perhaps be imagined; Mulcaster's recommendation of physical exercises fell upon deaf ears, or was not taken seriously; and in the absence of some such diversion, only a man of exceptional strength of character could hope to succeed.

In their trouble, masters made use of the prefect or monitor system; prefects had to assist in keeping order as well as in hearing lessons. They were to be appointed 'who may be able and willing to be set over the others, both for their learning and steady character, and also report to the master or undermaster the names of those who are at fault.' (Thame.) The regulations at Harrow have been already quoted (p. 82); at Dronfield, 'Monitors are to be appointed to prevent rudeness, irreverence, or indecent demeanour in the streets, the church, or their public sports.' There would appear to have been much competition for the

distinction, since the Elizabethan schoolboy's code of honour does not seem to have condemned 'sneaking'; thus Hollyband listens to tell-tales, Brinsley has 'custodes,' and Hoole recommends a 'privy spy.' It was thus the business of the prefects or monitors to detect and report misbehaviour, speaking English, and idleness, but not as a rule to keep order or to inflict punishment; they were, in Leach's phrase, at this time, 'not magistrates but policemen.'

'That is a usual custom in schools,' says Brinsley, 'to appoint custodes to observe and catch them who speak English in each form, or whom they see idle, to give them the ferula. . . . Ofttimes he who is the custos will hardly attend his own work, for harkening to hear others to speak English. Also there falleth out amongst them ofttimes so much wrangling about the questions, or defending themselves that they did not speak English, or were not idle, that all the whole form is troubled. . . . Besides all these, I do not see any great fitness, that one scholar should smite another with the ferula; because much malicing one another with grudges and quarrels do arise thereupon.' The usual procedure is described by Hoole: 'That no disorder or vice committed either at school, church, or elsewhere, may pass unnoticed by the master, he may cause his scholars in the two upper forms to play the monitors in their weekly turns from Friday to Friday.' Each is to keep a 'bill,' and make against each boy's name a prick with a pin or pen for each of his misdeeds. This bill serves as a record for the master's use; who, when he perceives any 'general disorder, or some gross thing done which ought not to escape

Schola.

A School.

INTERIOR OF A SCHOOL

'in which young wits are fashioned to virtue. The master (2) sitteth in a chair (3); the scholars (4) in forms (5). Some sit at a table and write (7), some stand and rehearse things committed to memory (9). Some talk together (10) and behave themselves wantonly and carelessly; these are chastised with a ferula (11) and a rod (12).'

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correction,' will call for it, and censure the most 'notoriously peccant.' Moreover, 'each monitor may, if he will, appoint two private monitors to himself in every other form, which may give him secret information of every misdemeanour committed in any place.' The spy system seems to have been fully and shamelessly developed in Elizabethan schools.

Even when they had reduced their charges to comparative quiet and order, there still remained those time-honoured devices for avoiding work (or punishment) known as prompting and cribbing, both grievous sins, in masters' eyes at any rate. 'For preventing stealing or any help by the Latin book, if you doubt thereof, you may both cause them to write in your presence, and also make choice of such places which they know not where to find.' Again, 'If you catch anyone writing after another, and so deceiving both himself and you, correct him surely who suffereth him to steal.' As to prompting, boys were constantly warned both of its moral consequences and of the punishment meted out on detection. 'Let no one prompt you in a single word, which bringeth no small hurt to a child,' advises Lily; while at Sandwich, prompting was 'to be more severely punished than laziness, with rod, shame, restraint of play, or otherwise.' R. Willis[1] tells an amusing experience of his own at Gloucester, about 1585. The master's custom there was, 'to give us out several lessons in the evening by construing it in every form, and in the next morning to examine us thereupon; by making all the boys in the first form to

[1] Printed in *Foster Watson*, p. 410.

come from their seats and stand on the outsides of their desks, towards the middle of the school, and so the second form and the rest in order, whilst himself walked up and down by them, hearing them construe their lesson, one after another.' Under these conditions, 'when the two highest forms were dispatched, some of them whom we called prompters would come and sit in our seats of the lower forms, and so being at our elbows would put into our mouths answers to our master's questions as he walked up and down by us.' Willis, however, one day fell out with his prompter, who thereupon left him to his fate; but he managed to escape detection that time, and was compelled to do his own work for the future, to his own great advantage.

3. Schoolboy Crimes

But much more serious faults than these engaged the attention of the masters: and the most heinous schoolboy vice, to judge from its unanimous condemnation in the statutes, was swearing. This is explained with much detail in the Heath statutes: 'that they take not God's name in vain by swearing in their ordinary communications by forswearing, cursing themselves or others, lying, laughing and vain shouting, idle and light use of God's titles, works, and word'; while at Oundle, the master was 'to cause the scholars to refrain from the detestable vice of swearing or ribald words, be it ordered that for every oath or ribald word spoken in the school or elsewhere, the scholar to have three stripes.' At St. Bees, 'filthy communications, wantonness of speech,

lewd or licentious books or songs' are justly condemned; and Rhodes (in the preface to his *Book of Nurture*) thinks it desirable to 'keep them from reading of feigned fables, vain phantasies, wanton stories, and songs of love, which bring much mischief to youth.' In these days, we should substitute 'bloods' or 'dreadfuls'; but the principle is the same, and the success achieved probably of the same degree. A similar offence to swearing is 'giving of by-names' (Heath), though at the same time masters were 'not to curse or revile their scholars' (Dronfield), 'railing upon them by the unmannerly names of blockheads, asses, dolts, etc., which deeply pierceth the free and generous spirit,' as Peacham puts it.

The next most serious offence was fighting. 'They shall use no weapons in the school, as sword, dagger, waster, or other like, to fight or brawl withal' (Hawkeshead), while at Manchester, 'if any scholar make two frays as above is said, then to leave the same school by the space of two months,' while for three offences he is to be 'banished the same school for ever.' In this way, Richard Cox at Eton (1530) had 'prepositors in the field when they play, for fighting, rent clothes, blue eyes, or such like.'

Not nearly so common, (or so serious ?), to judge by their less frequent condemnation, were lying and stealing; and lastly, unlawful games, such as 'gaming for anything of price,' whether at cards or with dice. Shrewsbury is here an exception, for gaming was allowed so long as the stakes were limited to 1d. a game and 4d. a match. Hoole's estimate of relative seriousness (measured by the number of 'jerks' due)

is: idleness, 1; wandering forth, 1; fighting, 3; swearing, 4. A catalogue somewhat more in keeping with modern ideas is that drawn up at Sandwich, whose list of schoolboy crimes requiring to be 'sharply corrected' runs as follows: absence from church, irreverent behaviour, pride, ribaldry, lying, picking (i.e., stealing), and blaspheming.

Hollyband's tell-tales give a comprehensive catalogue of school offences. A late comer 'did slide upon the ice, cast snow, fought with his fist and balls of snow, scourge his top, played for pennies, cherry stones, counters, dice, cards' on the way to school; one Nicholas 'hath sworn by God, played by the way, sold his points,[1] changed his book, stolen a knife, lied twice, lost his cap'; while his fellow criminal William 'hath spitted on my paper, torn my book, put out my theme, broken my girdle, trod my hat under his feet, marred my copy, spoken English.' Either Hollyband's young charges were unusually mischievous or his own discipline was not exactly sound. Perhaps the tradition of ragging the French master is as old as this; for Hollyband was a Huguenot refugee, who in his private school in St. Paul's Churchyard included French in his curriculum.

The custom of 'exclusion' or 'barring out the master' was probably the most popular event of the year where it was tolerated, and at Witton it was even sanctioned by statute: 'A week before Christmas and Easter according to the old custom, they bar and keep forth of the school the schoolmaster, in such sort as other scholars do in the great schools.' Even Hoole

[1] Laces with tagged ends for tying doublet to hose.

thinks it a custom worth retaining, with due safeguards, of course; the master is to be warned beforehand, the boys are to 'behave themselves merrily and civilly,' their petition is to be presented 'writ fairly in Latin,' he himself will subscribe to it in front of witnesses before being admitted, when he will receive 'a short congratulatory oration, and so dismiss them to play.' One can imagine circumstances under which the proceedings were not so orderly as this; an unpopular or over-severe master being bundled unceremoniously to the door, forms and desks piled behind it in a disorderly heap, with perhaps the master's chair on top; the master knocking angrily or timidly on the door according to his temperament; and the eventual surrender of the garrison on condition that all past offences shall be forgiven, and that some favourite tyranny shall be abolished. Or even the boys getting the upper hand completely; the strongly barricaded and well provisioned schoolroom, vigorously defended, holding out for two or three days before the master by force or stratagem could gain admittance.

Tales of schoolboy pranks are innumerable, 'old boys' seeming to glory in their early misdeeds exactly as they do to-day. Thus, we have the future Sir Peter Carew running away from school at Exeter for fear of his master's violence, and threatening to leap from one of the turrets of the city wall if he were pursued any further; for which, he says, his father led him home on a string, and chained him to a dog-kennel with one of his hounds. Young John Bramston tells how he helped 'in snow and frost' to catch a neighbour's pigeons with corn under a

door, in a trap worked by a line through a window, 'so we culled at a pull a dozen or more at a fall'; but it was the master and his wife who ate the pigeon pies, which reminds us of Anthony Wood and his fellow boarders eating the venison pasties intended for the soldiers quartered in the vicar's house. Peacham, who complains that he was 'cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant schoolmasters' for drawing portraits of his school fellows or copying maps, 'yet could they never beat it out of me,' tells how 'I remember one master I had . . . took me one time drawing out with my pen that pear tree and boys throwing at it at the end of the Latin grammar; which he perceiving, in a rage struck me with the great end of the rod, and rent my paper, swearing it was the only way to teach me to rob orchards.' The same writer gives us an idea as to what boys did with themselves on holidays: 'bestowing the summer in seeking birds' nests or haunting orchards,' and in winter 'abroad all day with the bow or birding piece.'

4. Punishments

'Children,' says Miss Byrne, 'were appreciated for their precocity rather than for the natural qualities of childhood. They were regarded by the normal parent as miniature but troublesome men and women. . . . Childhood . . . was a thing to be got over as quickly as possible. . . . The methods adopted to deal with this unwanted immaturity were often cruel and wrong, but the theory behind them was neither cruel nor unthinking.' Punishment was intended to make

unstudious habits unpleasant, and regarded as a necessary correction to boyish disinclination to work; and there is no doubt that the majority of schoolmasters were sincere in resorting to it. For Tudor parents certainly believed that to spare the rod was to spoil the child, and themselves meted out tolerably rough treatment to their offspring. It must also be remembered that the Elizabethans were not particularly sensitive to the sight of physical suffering, either in human beings or in animals: they cheerfully watched witches drown and martyrs burned at the stake, and revelled in barbarous amusements like cock-fighting and bear-baiting. Humane treatment of boys, as of lunatics and criminals, is a modern growth; but there does not seem to have been such extensive and severe abuse of the birch at any rate during the sixteenth century, as is usually imagined by those who generalize from the feats of Nicholas Udall of Eton and of Richard Busby of Westminster, both of them outside our period. It was only in the next century that a boy became a miserable little sinner, full of 'original sin' which it was the master's business to whip out of him.

The unbridled use of the rod and ferula was an unfortunate survival of the middle ages, when education and chastisement seemed inseparable. Thus it was typical that when a mediæval student at Cambridge took his degree as master of grammar, he was given as symbols of his office a birch and a palmer, with which he proceeded to show his fitness to act as a schoolmaster by whipping 'a shrewd boy' provided for the purpose, who received 4d. for his pains; and that the

fifteenth century miserere under the master's stall in Norwich cathedral represents a boy over the master's knees, vainly trying to ward off the birch with his hands. Even a comparatively humane man like Textor, who frequently protested against the inhumanities practised on schoolboys in his day, gives his opinion in one of his letters[1] as follows: 'If they offend, if they are detected in falsehood, if they slip from the yoke, if they murmur against it, or complain in ever so little a degree, let them be most severely whipped.' In the same way, Coote's *English Schoolmaster* begins with the cheerful warning:

> 'My child and scholar, take good heed,
> Unto the words that here are set,
> And see thou do accordingly,
> Or else be sure thou shalt be beat.'

The master is invariably represented with his birch, and the connection long seemed natural and inevitable.

It was a natural reaction from all this that determined efforts were made by Tudor educationalists to keep the use of the rod within bounds by restricting it to breaches of discipline and to moral offences, and to limit the severity and frequency of punishment by setting aside one day for executions. There seemed no prospect of banishing it altogether; for even Mulcaster, of whom it was reported that 'the prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him as much as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending child,' and who pronounced that 'If that

[1] Printed in Staunton, 237–8.

instrument be thought too severe for boys, which was not devised by our time, but received from antiquity, I will not strive with any man in its defence, if he will leave us some means for compelling obedience where numbers have to be taught together,' yet considers, 'Beating must only be for ill behaviour, not for failure in learning,' and 'I do think gentleness and courtesy towards children more needful than beating.' No one could defend such 'continual and terrible whipping' as undoubtedly went on in some schools; Brinsley is fully alive to the danger of having 'the rod and ferule ever in our hand,' yet can go no further than to suggest a 'little twig' about a foot long, as a less dangerous substitute. 'He may use the rod sparingly, but only in greater faults, and on principal offenders, for example and terror.' His considered opinion on the subject he sums up as follows: 'The godly counsels of Solomon and Jesus the son of Sirach [Ecclesiasticus] were meant rather for fatherly correction than for masterly beating, rather for manners than for learning, for other places than for schools.' It was all very well for advanced theorists like Ascham to condemn the use of the rod; though he had three little sons of his own, he had no disorderly schoolroom to control; as Foster Watson says, 'Brinsley speaks from experience of the class-room, Ascham from the aspiration of the scholar.' It was all very well to suggest other expedients, useful and effective enough in their way and on occasion; such as reproofs or loss of place, shame amongst their fellows, or fear lest their parents should know of their misdeeds; these are for mild offences and for amen-

able culprits. Brinsley's chief punishment is a 'black bill,' in which are to be entered 'all whom you observe very negligent, stubborn, lewd, or any way disobedient,' and these are not to be allowed out when the others ('the painful and obedient, which are worthy to have the privileges of scholars and of the school') go out to play. They are to be caused to 'sit still and do some exercises in writing besides'; but it usually comes back to the birch in the end, for the work must be shown up next morning 'under pain of six jerks to be surely paid.' In spite, therefore, of the pleadings of would-be reformers to restrict corporal punishment to moral offences, the tradition of a blow for a mistake died hard. Sooner or later the harassed master's patience with some unfortunate dullard or slacker would give way, and suddenly would come the ominous words, 'Untruss you, untie you, put your hosen down, dispatch'; any stubborn or unbroken boy who resisted chastisement was held by three or four others over a form or against a post 'so as he cannot anyway hurt himself or others . . . neither can have hope by any device or turning or by his apparel or any other means to escape.' In greater faults, the penalty is three or four 'jerks'; or 'for terror in some notorious fault, half a dozen stripes or more soundly laid on' is the utmost that Brinsley allows himself, albeit with a certain suspicion of pride in his own skill. It is better not to have a set time, he thinks, lest offenders absent themselves by feigned excuses; the fittest time is immediately before dismissal upon play days.

It was, in fact, found necessary to protect the boy by

statute against unsuitable and excessive punishments. Thus, at Coventry, the master must 'use fit correction, not beating with hand or fist about the head, or pulling children by the hair, ears, or such like'; at Dronfield, he must 'in no wise strike any scholar upon the head or the cheek with the fist or the palm of the hand'; while at Thame, 'under no pretence whatsoever may a boy be struck or beaten or thumped, either by a rod or by any other blow, on the face, eyes, ears, mouth, or on any other part of his head.' Peacham similarly complains of boys being 'pulled by the ears, lashed over the face, beaten about the head with the great end of the rod, smitten upon the lips for every slight offence with the ferula.'

At the same time it was necessary to protect the master from parents and others who sought to impede him in the execution of his duty. Thus at Alford, 'No man shall have authority to taunt and check the schoolmaster, or to intermeddle with anything pertaining to his duty, but only the governors of the school,' and Hoole himself complains of 'clamorous outcries of supposed tyranny, when every jerk that is given to a notoriously unhappy boy shall chance to be multiplied in relating from three to thirty.' Similarly, there is nothing to be done with an incorrigible boy but to expel him; this could be done, e.g., at Alford, where 'it shall be lawful for the schoolmaster to expel and refuse as scholars all such as shall falsely and scandalously report anything of the schoolmaster,' and at Kirkby Stephen, where 'any boy . . . inclined to such knavishness, malapertness, or stubborness, so that he will despise the schoolmaster's authority

over him, and his reasonable correction, so long shall he continue expelled out of the school until he desire to be taken in again . . . and do humbly submit himself to receive the schoolmaster's reasonable correction.' Similarly at Heath: 'If any scholar brave out contempt against his master or the usher . . . or rebelliously withstand their correction, or complain of correction moderately given, or tell abroad who are corrected in the school; if he do not presently humble himself and obey the master and usher, he shall be expelled the school.' No one could say that the governors of these schools failed to support their headmasters.

It is, however, evident, that the harsh discipline and severe and even brutal treatment of boys at school were occasionally such as to raise indignation even amongst Tudor parents. Some of the cases are classical: such as Tusser's complaint that

> 'Fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had,
> For fault but small, or none at all'

by Udall at Eton; and Ascham's conversation about some boys who had run away from the same school for fear of the rod, which led to the writing of his 'Schoolmaster.' Walter Haddon calls the master in question (or was it Cox?) 'the best schoolmaster and the greatest beater of his time,' a rather doubtful compliment from an old boy. At the other end of our period come the even better known performances of the redoubtable Richard Busby of Westminster; and to these instances of undue severity may be added

many others. Thomas Ingleland, in a 'merry and pretty new interlude' called the 'Disobedient Child' (*c.* 1560) draws a terrible picture (if true), of a son imploring his father not to send him to school, because there

> 'Their tender bodies both night and day
> Are whipped and scourged and beat like a stone
> That from top to toe the skin is away,'

which reads more like an attempt to make the parental flesh creep. A scene in Marston's comedy, *What You Will* (1607) describes a grammar school lesson in which the inevitable sequel is only prevented by the entrance of some distinguished visitors. Peacham tells of a pedagogue who used to whip his boys of a cold morning 'for no other purpose than to get himself a heat,' and it must be remembered that Peacham had himself been a schoolmaster.

Two first hand instances may now be given. William Bedell at Braintree, about 1582, though a clever scholar, 'once received such a blow from his choleric master that he was beaten off a pair of stairs, and had one side of his head so bruised that the blood gushed out of his ear, and his hearing was in consequence so impaired that he became in process of time wholly deaf on that side.' Sir John Bramston relates how his younger brother was given over fifty blows with an elm rod by an irate master for no other fault than failing to say his lesson. There is no explaining away such brutality; men who had so little control over their passions had no business to become schoolmasters, 'fitter far to keep bears,' says Peacham

contemptuously; and boys might well pray to be delivered from such monsters.

It is difficult to judge how much of this evidence can be taken at its face value; if a tithe of it be true, it constitutes a serious indictment of schoolmasters. But it is easy to balance one side of the question against the other; thus, Thomas Ellwood seems to think it remarkable that he came 'under the discipline of the rod twice in a forenoon' for 'playing some waggish prank or other'; while d'Ewes considers one of his masters an exceptional man because 'the rod and ferula stood . . . rather as ensigns of his power than as instruments of his anger.' While such cases of extreme violence were doubtless exceptional at the worst of times, yet it would appear that they were occasionally frequent enough to be seriously reckoned with. In the main, however, it may be concluded that punishment in schools was neither so frequent nor so savage as might appear; nor does it seem to have been particularly effective, for as Ascham says, the production of a good scholar came to pass 'rather by the great towardness of the scholar than by the great beating of the master.'

5. Rewards

Though virtue should doubtless be its own reward, even to a schoolboy, the Elizabethan curriculum was not such as to arouse much spontaneous enthusiasm in pupils; and so attempts were made to stimulate boys to work at their distasteful tasks by striving to win their master's approval, or in order to beat one

another; by appealing to pride or ambition. Thus at St. Bees, boys were to be encouraged by 'preferring them to higher places,' so that 'either from love of commendation or fear of shame' they might be provoked 'to learn and profit at their books.' Brinsley's rewards of learning are: preferment to higher forms; 'gracing' the best in each form; commendation in public; taking higher places in form; letting them act as leaders to choose sides in the school disputations. All sorts of small rewards, 'trifles or gay things' as Kemp calls them, were given to deserving scholars by the more human schoolmasters; thus d'Ewes tells of one who rewarded good work with raisins or other fruit, while Hoole recommends a paper book or a pen knife for special excellence. One of Corderius' pupils receives as victor for the week (i.e., the boy with the fewest bad marks against him) a Holland pen, and another, twelve walnuts, very properly rebuking a scoffer by asking, 'O fool, wherefore dost thou esteem the reward by the price of the thing?'

Brinsley's school has a disputation for the victorship every quarter, on the afternoon of the last Wednesday or Friday. The upper school may ask two questions each 'which they have learned in their grammar or authors' of the competitors, the remainder keeping the score. The 'victors' have 'as further reward of their learning' the privilege of asking extra leave for play for their fellows; or (as at Westminster) remission of punishments.

School prizes in the modern sense were very few. At Sandwich, the founder gives as his reason for

those to be awarded at disputations, the very sound one that 'virtue and knowledge is in all estates maintained and increased by praise and reward, and especially in youth.' Similarly, Brinsley thinks 'it would exceedingly encourage and incite all to take pains' if the visitors, besides praising those who do well, would grace those who do best with some praemium, 'as some little book or money.' He also considers 'it were to be wished that in great schools there were something given to this end, to be so bestowed: five shillings or ten shillings.' Evidently school endowments could not afford a prize fund; though at Camberwell there were writing prizes of 12d., 6d., 4d., and 2d., given quarterly to the four best writers in the school, as judged from their weekly efforts by the master and two others. At Lewisham, also, 'the best scholars and best writers should wear some pretty garland on their heads, with silver pens well fastened thereunto; and thus walk to church and back again for at least a month.' Rather embarrassing for them, one would imagine, as subjecting them to much chaff from their fellows.

As some sort of return for the gifts of money (capitation fees) made to the master at the end of each term, it was the custom for him 'to make a potation or general feast once a year, and that commonly before Shrovetide' (Hoole); such feasts were often definitely restricted to once a year, in Lent usually, as at Coventry 'which is according to the ancient order there'; in some schools they are definitely forbidden. A popular master would do the thing well: the dinner would be held at his own house, where he would show

Of Sloth.

The sleepie minde doth tyme forget : and youth to toyes do most desire:
So tyme once paste is hard to fet : to late in age learning to require:

The signification.

HE which sitteth sleeping signifieth slothfulnes amongest teachers, whose desire being satisfied, careth not for the charge : the children idlenes, whose mindes without a carefull tutor, are bent to nothyng but ease and vanities.

Our

A DISORDERLY SCHOOLROOM

The letterpress is self-explanatory : the master has fallen asleep on a warm summer's afternoon, and the boys play quietly instead of getting on with their work. The author draws the appropriate moral for both.

A PUL..B LIBRA...

himself 'cheerful and free in entertainment,' only taking care 'to see that they keep such order and moderation, especially in drinking [weak beer, probably—certainly not tea!] that it may be rather a refreshment and encouragement to them . . . than any occasion of distemper or debauched behaviour.' After which, 'the scholars should all go together into the fields to take a little more liberty of recreation than ordinary; yet with a special regard had that they catch no cold, or otherwise endanger their bodies.' A very wise precaution, no doubt, in view of their previous efforts. Such potations lingered on into modern times; as at Giggleswick, where one William Clapham left 4s. 4d. a year to pay for a potation 'among the poor scholars of the same school upon St. Gregory's day.' In the early nineteenth century, this had degenerated into a distribution of bread and figs, which were more generally used as missiles than eaten.

6. Games

Organized games in Elizabethan schools there were none, masters not having yet discovered their value, and indeed considering all games as waste of time. Elyot approves of wrestling, running, dancing, swimming, and the use of the short bow 'which incomparably excelleth all other exercise.' Mulcaster, as usual in advance of his contempories, recommends for indoors, dancing, wrestling, fencing, top and scourge; and for outdoors, walking, running, leaping, swimming, riding, hunting, shooting, playing at ball; for which 'no time is fitter than the morning

somewhat before *meat.*' He devotes one-third of his *Positions* to his advocacy of such physical exercises in schools, going into their supposed physiological effects in great detail; but whatever he may have done in his own school to carry out his theories, he was a voice crying in the wilderness in his own day.

'All recreations and sports of scholars should be meet for gentlemen,' declares Brinsley, 'clownish sports or perilous or yet playing for money are no way to be admitted.' The statutes often give lists of games which are to be allowed; at Harrow, these are limited to 'driving a top, tossing a handball, running, shooting and no other,' and at Camberwell, to 'shooting in long bows, chess, running, wrestling, and leaping—money players or betters to be punished and expulsed.' Archery, then the chief of English sports, was strongly encouraged; Ascham thinks it would 'pluck away by the roots all other desire to naughty pastimes as dicing, carding, and bowling,' although according to him the price of a bow might vary from 10d. to 2s. At Harrow, parents were enjoined to find 'at all times, bow-shafts, bow-strings, and a bracer, to exercise shooting,' and the pupils at Witton were 'to use their bow and arrows only, and to eschew all bowling, carding, dicing, quoiting, and all other unlawful games, on pain of extreme punishment to be done by the master.' There was thus little team work, and games were inclined to be rough and strenuous, and to involve frequent injuries; while a general disregard for rules and lack of sportsmanship seem to be implied in the constant appeals to 'play fair.'

Erasmus represents boys persuading one of their

number 'that is not bashful' to ask for time for play: which he does, backing his request with an apt quotation from Quintilian, 'Moderate play quickens the wit.' Being successful, they fall to discussing various games. There is no lack of variety: running, jumping, leap-frog, swimming, wrestling are all popular, and the forfeit 'he that is beat shall make and repeat extempore a distich in praise of him that beat him' breathes the true scholastic spirit.

It will be evident, then, that masters approved mainly of games of strength, which were necessary to keep the body fit for its work in the class room; such exercises as 'be joined with labour, used in open place, and in the day light' (Ascham). A game like bowls was forbidden, in spite of Sir Francis Drake's patronage, because bowling alleys were too often scenes of gambling and dissipation; quoits, in spite of Falstaff's admiration of Prince Hal's skill, came under the same ban; dicing and cards were frowned upon for similar reasons, the only table game meeting with scholastic approval being chess. This, says Elyot enthusiastically, 'of all games wherein is no bodily exercise, is most to be commended; for therein is right subtle means whereby the wit is made more sharp and remembrance quickened.'

Outdoors, ball games were most popular, the ball in days before indiarubber being made of bladder or leather, and 'filled with wind' from bellows, or stuffed with hair or yarn. Hand-ball, resembling the modern 'fives,' was played against the schoolroom walls, to the great peril of the windows: stool-ball was a lighter kind of cricket, in which a stool served

as wicket, and the ball was struck with the hand, or (later) with a stick, one being scored every time the ball was hit away. Barley-break was a primitive kind of rounders, while in 'Nine Holes,' small balls were rolled along the ground into holes, each with its own scoring value—evidently one of the ancestors of modern billiards, transferred indoors. Tennis, in spite of its general popularity, can hardly have been an ordinary schoolboy's game.

Football had been popular at least since the days of Edward III, when it was prohibited because it interfered with archery; the game was rough and dangerous, usually developing into a wild struggle between opposing sides to force the ball through the streets from one end of the town to the other, greatly to the annoyance of the peaceful citizens. A game of this kind is still played in Ashbourne on Shrove Tuesday between up-towners and down-towners, the goals being three miles apart, and the course including negotiating a river. Elyot condemns the game as nothing but 'beastly fury and extreme violence,' while the puritan Stubbes is whole hearted in his condemnation. 'Everyone lies in wait for his adversary seeking to overthrow him . . . so that necks are broken, sometimes their legs or arms. . . . They have sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dash him against the heart with their elbows, to hit him under the short ribs with their gripped fists . . . whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scot free, but is either sore wounded, crazed, or bruised . . . or else escapeth very hardly.' While we may perhaps see in this outburst something of the 'mudded oaf' attitude, there

is no doubt that it proves a general disregard for anything but victory at all costs; the ideal of 'the game's the thing' was evidently a long way off. Yet in spite of the fact that in England the game was a disorderly rabble, football was a definitely organized sport in North Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century; and Mulcaster, perhaps aware of this, and not being afraid of being once more in a minority of one, is of opinion that it would be useful in schools. 'Though it is now used with thronging of a rude multitude with bursting of shins and breaking of legs, it be neither civil neither worthy the name of any train to health . . . yet if one stand by, who can judge of the play, and is judge over the parties, and hath authority to command in the place, all these inconveniences . . . will be I am sure very lightly redressed.' He therefore advocates 'a training master, a smaller number of players sorted into sides and standings, not meeting with their bodies so boisterously to try their strength,' and 'no shouldering or shoving one another so barbarously.' But it was many a long year before games assumed a preponderating importance in the eyes of boys, and their most skilful exponents became greater heroes than the most accomplished scholars.

Boys' games in playground and field were such as could be played without much apparatus, and by any number and at any time; the beginnings of most present-day games can be recognized in Tudor ancestors. Thus, while 'riding the wild mare' (see-saw) was much in favour, and tops and hoops had their devotees, throwing and running games were most popular. In 'loggats' small logs (or,

according to Hamlet, bones) were thrown at a stake, the player coming nearest being the winner; in 'ten pins' the object was to knock down the largest number in a limited number of throws; while in 'cherry pit,' cherry stones or other small objects were cast into a small hole in the ground. Amongst running games were leap-frog; 'hoop and hide' (hide and seek); 'hoodwink' (blind man's buff); and 'tick' (tig), besides the numerous varieties of prisoners' base. This last was almost the only team game; two equal sides had their respective bases twenty or thirty yards apart, and it was the aim of one side to catch any member of the other who left his home base; and if successful, to bring him home prisoner, thus scoring one point.

The cruel 'sport' of cock-fighting was prohibited in many schools, such as St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', Manchester and Nottingham; but in Lancashire it was especially popular, and where, as at Warrington and Hartlebury, the master (as controller and director of the pastime) received a fee, 'cock-penny,' on such occasions, it looks as if, in view of these perquisites, it would rather be encouraged. At Heversham, near Carnforth, the site of the school cock-pit is still to be seen as a grass ring on the hillside above the school. The prohibition, where it existed, was rather because the 'sport' encouraged idleness in boys than from any humane considerations towards the bird. 'Throwing at a cock' was practised especially on Shrove Tuesday; the unlucky victim was tied to a stake or buried in the ground up to his neck, and sticks were thrown at him until he was

Ludi Pueriles.

Boyes-Sport

BOYS PLAYING

'Boys use to play either with bowling stones (1), or throwing a bowl (2) at ninepins (3), or striking a ball through a ring (5) with a bandy (4) or scourging a top (6) with a whip (7), or shooting with a trunk (8) and a bow (9) or going upon stilts (10) or tossing and swinging themselves upon a merry-trotter (11).'

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killed. Sir Thomas More relates his own skill, in youth, at this elevating pastime ; it was, after all, only one further example of unthinking boyish cruelty. Similarly, when Falstaff[1] complains ' Since I plucked geese, played truant, and whipped top, I knew not what 'twas to be beaten till lately,' he is referring to another cruel ' sport ' : plucking the feathers from a living goose—for which, if he was punished, it was only because of the damage done to someone else's property.

[1] See further, *Rolfe*, p. 139. A long list of sports is quoted in *Shakespeare's England*, II, pp. 452–3, from Samuel Rowland's *The Letting of Humorous Blood in the Head-Vein*, 1600.

CHAPTER VII

THE DAY'S WORK

1. Preliminaries

WHEN the school opens at six in the morning, 'all who write Latin are to make their exercise which they were given overnight, in that hour before seven, unless they did them the night before, to get parts or the like. . . . The usher should necessarily be there to be present amongst them, though he follow his own private study at that hour, yet to see that all the scholars do their duties appointed, and that there be no disorder. . . . If the master be present at seven, it may suffice.' So far Brinsley; but one can picture with Corderius, the unhappy usher 'walking through the midst, holding a book in his hands, and admonishing the monitor that he would note them who prattled fondly,' for an hour in the cold dark of the early morning and before breakfast; thinking perhaps of the time when he, as a master himself, might remain an hour longer in a warm bed. The boys, remembering the tasks they will shortly have to recite, work more quietly than might be expected, especially as the striking of the church clock heralds the approach of the master.

The first business is prayers. The school, long accustomed to the form prescribed by the statutes or

ordained by the master, goes through its religious exercises with little enthusiasm but without hurry. Next, the 'bills' of every form are called by the monitors; those present answer to their names; if any are absent, their neighbours answer for them. The master inquires about absentees; one is piling up wood for his father, an important job before the days of coal fires; another is helping with the harvest or gathering apples; others have had to run errands or write letters for their parents. A boy is back after a week's absence. 'What meaneth it that thou hast been away the whole week?' and it appears that his mother has been ill, and that he has had to help in the house and to read the Bible to his mother, which is accepted as a reasonable excuse.

Then the school settles down to work. The master and usher hear the lessons of the various forms, and set them their next tasks. A boy hurries in late, and is pounced on by a monitor while the master is busy teaching. He has been home to fetch some books he has forgotten, and is sarcastically asked, 'Art thou wont so to forget thy breakfast or thy drinking?' Another has been home 'to fetch his drinking,' and claims the master's permission; 'Go thy way. I believe thee, because I have never found thee in a lie.' And so they proceed in a more or less orderly way until nine o'clock, when the school adjourns for a quarter of an hour for breakfast. One boy, however, has already had his breakfast at home, by rising very early, 'because it pleased my mother to use me so.' Another has come without any. 'I pray thee, give me of thy bread; there was nobody at our house who

could give me; my mother was away from home, and the rest were occupied; my mother doth forbid always that I touch not anything without her leave.' and is recommended to ask for his 'drinking' overnight in future, when the supper table is being cleared away, and to put it straightway into his satchel. All too soon the brief respite is over, and work begins again, for a further two hours.

2. The Morning

A typical morning in the lower school is described by one of Corderius' pupils: 'We have said first this morning a verse out of Cato; afterward we have repeated the interpretation of it in Latin and English; last of all we have handled two by two all the parts of speech with their attributes and signification. At noon we have to decline the verb possum in Latin and English.' This will have left them a good deal of spare time, however ingeniously the master may contrive to work in one form with another; and a number of boys ask for leave of absence on various pretexts. One has a message to take to someone in the market; another is to be measured for new clothes; a third wants to buy shoes; while a fourth must visit the barber in preparation for a visit to his uncle, 'because to-morrow there will be a throng in the barber's shop because of the market.' So they are all allowed to go, with the warning, 'Bring me a testimony from your mother against to-morrow, or bring a witness.' Another has been out without permission, 'because I durst not trouble you,' and is threatened with a beating if it occurs again.

For a typical morning in the upper school, we turn to the details given by our sixth former at Westminster. His programme has been as follows: From six to eight there was repetition of grammar parts from Lily or Camden (for Westminster is 'a fruitful nursery,' as Hakluyt gratefully acknowledges), 'fourteen or fifteen being selected and called out to stand in a semicircle before the master . . . and there repeated four or five leaves in either language, the master appointing who should begin, and who should go on with such and such rules.' Then come either extempore verses in Latin or Greek on two or three themes, when 'they that made the best had some money given them for the most part'; or a Latin or Greek author, some part of which was translated and explained for the benefit of a lower form, some of whom 'such as the master made choice of by the fear or confidence discovered in their looks' would later have to give an account of it.

All this before eight o'clock. But there is an hour for breakfast, after which for an hour the exercises set overnight, prose and verse alternately, are read out, and punishment or commendation distributed. Then one of form V is called out to translate some sentences from an unexpected author into good Latin, and then one of form VI to turn this into good Greek. Lastly, the master expounds some part of a classic author wherein the form is to be 'practised' in the afternoon.

3. The Afternoon

The dinner interval lasts for two hours; some boys have been home, or to the houses in which they lodge,

and others have had their meals on the school premises. 'Ho boys, ho, ho!' calls the monitor, 'You must leave off from play'; and then, more urgently, 'Ho, boys, return you all into the school. Make haste, I say, our master is near,' and in they all scamper at the last possible moment for a further four hours' work. Our young scholar fails us here, but the Westminster boy is as detailed as ever. He has a strenuous afternoon before him; from one to three he will construe the lesson expounded in the morning, study the rhetorical figures, translate verse into prose or *vice versa*, either Latin into Greek or Greek into Latin. But he has another hour's break before a last period of only one hour. In this he will 'repeat a leaf or two out of some book of rhetorical figures, or choice proverbs or sentences collected by the master'; then follows practice in turning Latin or Greek verse into English verse; and at the end a theme is set against the next morning—prose or verse, Latin or Greek in turn.

To his younger scholars, Corderius has 'dictated an English vulgar to be turned into Latin against to-morrow at noon.' One unfortunate is not in the room when his 'prep' is set; 'Master, what shall we repeat to-morrow in the morning?' he asks. 'I told you openly before the dismission of the school; ask thy schoolfellows,' replies the master snappishly, being weary after his long day's work. At length the church clock brings relief to both master and boys; six o'clock strikes; prayers are said, hurriedly enough this time, and with perfunctory salutes and good-nights to the master, the throng, free at last, rushes out.

4. A DAY WITH FORM IV

In Hoole's school, form IV's day, after prayers, begins with reading 'six or ten verses out of the Latin testament into English, that thus they may become well acquainted with the matter and words of that most holy book'; later in the year, when they have begun Greek, the Greek testament will be used instead. These boys, it will be remembered, are aged ten or eleven, and not as in these days, about four years older. Then they repeat a part of the Latin grammar, as 'by that means they may constantly say it over once every quarter,' and enter up in their notebooks at the master's dictation, any of the niceties of grammar that they find in the lesson, or '*in perusing other books* at spare hours,' from which they are to 'pick out such pretty notes as they have not formerly met withal,' the master going round to 'cast an eye upon their books to see what they have collected of themselves.' This happens on Thursdays; on other days its place is taken by rhetoric, 'so that they may know any Trope or Figure that they meet with in their own author,' making notes as before. The explaining, construing, and committing to memory of all this will take a quarter; in the corresponding time during the other three quarters, they will begin Greek grammar, and by the end of the year will be able to make use of the Greek testament every morning after prayers.

The class now turns to Terence; about half a page at once 'till they begin to relish him, and then they will easily take more, and delight to be exercised in him.' The procedure is as follows:

1. Write out the passage, partly as practice in writing.

2. Construe four to six lines each.

3. Parse the words, consulting the grammar where necessary.

4. 'Cull out' the most significant words and phrases, writing them in a pocket-book; 'let them ever and anon be conning these by heart.'

When the master meets with 'any act or scene that is full of affection or action, [he] may cause some of [his] scholars, after they have learned it, to act it first in private amongst themselves, and afterwards in the open school before their fellows . . . to expel that subrustic bashfulness and unresistable timorousness which some children are naturally possessed withal.'

The afternoon's entertainment is provided by Cicero and Ovid. The text-book is Sturm's celebrated selection of Cicero's *Epistles*; the class uses the double translation method, rendering the Latin into good English, and then 'after a while (within ten days) turning the same again into Latin to try how near they can come to their author.' Then they are given a 'little English epistle of the master's composition of like matter and words to that in their book' to turn into Latin—later they will have to write their own letters, in English first, on some set subject. The usual routine is to write two epistles a week, one in answer to the other; these are shown 'fair' on Saturdays, and are not to exceed a quarter of a sheet or side, so as to ensure thoroughness.

Cicero over, they turn to Ovid—*de Tristibus*—taking six or eight verses as a lesson; these they first

learn by heart, then construe and parse them; pick out the Tropes and Figures; scan every verse; and subsequently learn to compose, first an English and then a Latin verse in the same metre. Later, in the second half of the year, they will be studying the *Metamorphoses* in the same way.

All this keeps the master busy all the time; and could only be employed successfully in those fortunate schools which had an usher to each form. In the great majority, there would inevitably result much waste of time, from the master's point of view at least.

5. Learning Lessons

Soon after the tasks are set, talking begins; at first about the business in hand, but it soon strays beyond this. Many of Corderius' dialogues deal with boys learning their lessons. They are constantly hearing one another; 'If thou wilt repeat most certainly before the master, it is need to have repeated with somebody,' declares one: 'Wilt thou that we repeat together?' 'Wilt thou repeat thy lesson with me?' are heard on all sides; while another proposes 'Hear thou me while I pronounce my lesson; I will hear thee after'; and only rarely comes the churlish answer, 'I repeat with myself.' But the result is usually the same in any case: 'Oh, if one could say so well before our master!' Then there are constant attempts to borrow from one another: books, pens, knives, paper, money, and even food. 'Lend me thy Virgil for two days,' asks one, in vain, for Gerard has pawned it for 3d.; 'Wilt thou lend me thy Terence?' asks another,

uselessly, for Conrad has already borrowed it; 'Lend me twopence,' 'Lend me thy pen-knife,' and so the requests pour in, but the lenders are getting wary, learning by experience, no doubt. 'When wilt thou return it?' asks one; 'Take heed thou blot it not,' warns another; while a third reproves 'Thou askest always to borrow something; take it; but thou shouldest buy rather.' The difficulties of recovery may also be illustrated from the same source: 'Hast thou used my pen-knife enough? Restore it then,' and 'Dost thou not remember that I lent thee four sheets of paper of late? Why hast thou not restored them?' are broad enough hints, even to the most hardened borrower. Still others want their friends to write up their notes for them: 'I write very slowly; seek another writer for thee' is one polite excuse; or to borrow notes to copy, 'At least lend me thy book.'

But it is the monitor's business to stop all this chatter. 'O ye boys, give over to prattle in your master's absence,' he warns, mildly enough; and that proving ineffective, 'Behold I admonished you before; let it not delight you to abuse the time, lest four stripes light upon your back.' 'Thou art far deceived, for we repeat together' is the reply. But later they are caught talking of breakfasts when 'we should have read together out of the Testament what things we must repeat by and by'; 'Aha, ye are catched now; do ye not confess it?' 'But we did speak in Latin. I pray thee pardon me, O most sweet Nicholas. Hereafter we will be more wise, and we will do our duty diligently,' and so they are forgiven for that

time. But the chatter breaks out again, for two others have been caught that morning devouring delicacies from home in their bedroom. 'I will be of this junketting if it please you,' had been the master's caustic remark; and the punishment is due to be exacted after supper. Meanwhile, their one consolation is to discuss how it came about that they were discovered: 'There is a certain one whom I suspect who hath told of us.'

6. Hearing Lessons

For the hearing of lessons we turn to scenes from contemporary plays. Shakespeare himself gives us two of these. In the *Merry Wives* (IV, 1) we have Hugh Evans questioning young William Page on the first few pages of Lily; 'I pray you, ask him some questions in his accidence,' and the words pulcher and lapis, and the pronouns hic, haec, hoc, and qui, quae, quod, with the names of the cases in Latin, all show the source of his questions. 'What is fair, William?' 'What is lapis?' 'What is your accusative case?' 'Vocative is caret,' 'Show me some declensions of your pronouns,' must have been time-honoured questions; and not every scholar would be pronounced 'a good sprag memory.'

The other case is in the *Taming of the Shrew* (III, 1), where Bianca and Lucentio carry on their wooing under the very nose of the unsuspecting Hortensio, by imitating a construe lesson in Ovid:

> 'Hic ibat Simois: hic est Sigeia tellus;
> Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.'

But a much more detailed picture is given in John Marston's comedy *What You Will*, in which a scene (II, 2) is actually laid in a school room. Six boys are 'sitting with books in their hands.' Enter the schoolmaster, drawing the curtains behind him. 'Salve, magister' rises the chorus; to which he replies ponderously, 'Salveti, pueri, estoti salvi vos salvere exopto vobis salutem.' The boys are called up one by one to repeat their lessons, which they do with varying degrees of success. The first boy, Battus, is called upon.

Ped. 'Batti, mi fili.'

Battus. 'Quid vis?'

Ped. 'Stand forth and repeat your lesson without book.'

Bat. 'A noun is the name of a thing that may be seen, heard, felt, or understood.'

Ped. 'Good boy. Go on.'

Bat. 'Of nouns, some be substantives and some be substantives.'

Ped. 'Adjectives.'

Bat. 'Adjectives. A noun substantive either is proper to the thing that it betokeneth. . . .'

Ped. 'Well, to numbers.'

Bat. 'In nouns be two numbers, the singular and the plural. The singular number speaketh of one, as lapis, a stone; the plural speaketh of more than one, as lapides, stones.'

Ped. 'Good boy. Now thou art past lapides, stones, proceed to the cases.'

So number two is called up, and we get some more grammar.

Ped. 'Where is your lesson?'

Boy. 'I am in a verb, forsooth.'
Ped. 'Say on, forsooth, say, say.'
Boy. 'A verb is a part of speech declined with mood and tense, and betokeneth doing, as amo, I love.'
Ped. 'How many kinds of verbs are there?'
Boy. 'Two, personal and impersonal.'
Ped. 'Of verbs personal, how many kinds?'
Boy. 'Five: active, passive, neuter, deponent, and common. A verb active endeth in -o, and betokeneth to do, as amo, I love: and by putting to -r, it may be a passive, as amor, I am loved.'
Ped. 'Very good child. Now learn to know the deponent and common.'

And so he passes to the third, whose lesson is

'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae,'

followed by some parsing, and a joke about lingua being feminine. The next recites without disaster:

'Mascula dicuntur monosyllaba nomina quaedam...'

and the master turns to the fifth, who (after being reproved for wiping his nose on his sleeve) makes a sad mess of 'As in praesenti . . .' as follows:

Boy. 'As in praesenti perfectum format in, in, in . . .'
Ped. 'In what, sir?'
Boy. 'Perfectum format. In what, sir?'
Ped. 'In what sir? In—avi.'
Boy. 'In what sir. In avi.
Ut -no, -nas, -navi, vocito, vocitas, voci, voci, voci . . .'
Ped. 'What's next?'
Boy. 'Voci. What's next.'
Ped. 'Why, thou ungracious child. Thou simple animal. . . . Thou barnacle. Snare him. Take him up: an you were my father, you should up. I say untruss. . . . Dispatch . . .'

and for all his imploring and promising and inviting the master to dinner, he is only saved from a thrashing by the entry of visitors, who not only secure his pardon, but give him money to buy plums, and take him away to become a page, after he has been set to sing a song: 'I was solicited to grant him leave to play the lady in comedies presented by children,' says the master complacently. So all ends happily, the visitors having asked the master to grant a holiday, which he does:

'Ludendi venia est petita et concessa'
(i.e., leave to play is sought and granted).
All (con amore, no doubt). 'Gratias.'

7. Monday

We return to Corderius on a Monday to find a boy being questioned as to the sermon of the day before. Wert thou present at the sermon? Who preached? At what o'clock began he? From whence took he his text? So far so good; the sermon began at 7 a.m. and the text was from Romans viii. But to the next question, 'Hast thou committed anything to memory?' he is bound to reply, 'Nothing that I can rehearse. . . . I can remember nothing . . . not a word.'

Master. 'What good hast thou done then?'

Boy. 'I know not, unless that peradventure I abstained from evils in the mean time . . .'

Master. 'For what cause wentest thou thither?'

Boy. 'That I might learn something . . .'

Master. 'What cause was there why thou committedst nothing to memory?'

Boy. 'My negligence, for I did not hear diligently.'

Master. 'What didst thou, then?'

Boy. 'I slept ever and anon.'

Master. 'Thou art wont so. But what didst thou in the rest of the time?'

Boy. 'I thought of a thousand follies as boys are wont.'

Master. 'Art thou so very a child that thou oughtest not to be attentive to hear the Word of God?'

Boy. 'If I could be attentive, I could profit somewhat . . .'

Master. 'Peradventure. But in the meantime prepare thyself to be breeched.'

Boy. 'Ah, master, pardon me, I pray you. I confess I have offended, but of no ill mind . . .'

Master. 'What wilt thou do then if I shall pardon thee?'

Boy. 'God willing, I will perform my duty hereafter . . .'

Master. 'Go to. I pardon thee *thy fault for thy tears*, and I pardon thee of that condition that thou remember thy promise.'

Boy. 'O most courteous master, I thank you.'

8. Friday

Friday morning is devoted very largely to revision and recapitulation of the week's work, 'to confirm children's memories in what they learn.' The programme begins with 'saying of parts,' declining nouns or conjugating verbs, all together or separately as the master decides. Then come 'what they have learned in the Poets, both for the verse and for the matter's sake,' and 'what they have translated out of any author in prose.' The studious boy, says Hoole, finds it 'the veriest play day in all the week,' approaching it without 'toil and timorousness' as a result of

'a little looking of it over on Thursdays towards evening at home,' like the modern 'swot' revelling in being able to do something beyond the powers of his more athletic fellows. To these latter, not in the same happy position of being 'very ready and perfect in their daily tasks,' whether through natural slowness, or equally natural idleness, it proves a veritable ordeal, to be approached in fear and trembling.

Repetitions ended, and the school restored to quiet, the master notes 'all the phrases and sentences and other things observable in their lessons, which they should transcribe into phrase-books.'

But it is the afternoon which causes most apprehension. 'I call it Bloody Friday,' says the Winchester poet, 'because if you have sinned during the week, you will suffer cruel pain. Down on your knees, and two boys, duly summoned, will loose your braces and let down your breeches . . .'

First the master calls for the monitors' bills, kept during the week by boys chosen from the two upper forms for the purpose. On these have been marked with a pen or pin all misdemeanours which have come under the monitor's notice: idle chatter, leaving places, speaking English, neglect of work, swearing, fighting, and such like. The master sees at a glance 'who is the shrewdest or most orderly boy amongst the rest,' and praises him for his diligence and good conduct, upholding him as an example for the rest to follow. (Whether, with a view to the discouragement of swelled head, it is duly taken out of him afterwards by his fellows, does not appear.) Then he turns to the disorderly and idle; explains which are

the more serious of the faults recorded; lets some offenders off with a caution 'to amend their manners,' or because each can find one of his fellows to go surety for him, 'to give their words for them and to engage to be whipped for them if ever they do the like again.' Another, having been duly prepared to receive his punishment, is unexpectedly reprieved at the last moment, 'with an admonition to beware another time,' when the master may 'give him cause to remember both his faults *together*,' that he may know at once 'you dare adventure to whip him, and withal how little you delight in his skin.' The remainder, 'that seem to extort a rod from the master,' receive their due reward, with 'such clemency as not to exceed three lashes, in the laying on of which he may contribute more or less weight with respect to the demerits of the fault.' But no one is allowed to go away 'with a stubborn look . . . or muttering to himself . . . all of which may be easily taken off with another smart jerk or two.'

Then the monitors for the ensuing week are appointed. Corderius calls them up, and delivers a little homily, excellent enough in its way, on their duties and responsibilities, while the monitors look down their noses and shuffle their feet. 'Let all partiality be far away from you, study of revenging and the like, which carry men amiss and do corrupt sincere judgment. Fear ye not the threats of the wicked, who are wont to terrify young youth of a faint heart from doing their office, for what power have they over you? Ye shall incur (I know) the hatred of some wicked and dissolute boys; but let

the love and dearness of your Heavenly Father alone be of more weight with you than all their ill will.' A monitor's task was no more of a sinecure then than a prefect's is to-day, and especially onerous when his more tender years are taken into consideration.

By this time, it is three o'clock, and the school is getting restive. So the master allows disputations to take place, during which a good deal of steam is let off, and all his influence is needed 'to suppress noise and tumultuous clamour, and to see that no boy stir out of his appointed place.' In the lowest forms, 'every boy propounds to his opposite two or three questions, which he thinks most difficult, out of his week's work, which if the other cannot answer readily before he count six or ten in Latin, let him be captus, and the questions be propounded to his next fellow.' The highest in the form dispute last, since they are to act as scorers, 'to keep reckoning of those that are capt, and how often.' They may, e.g., 'try who can puzzle another' in declining any hard noun, or conjugating any verb, or any other question out of the accidence; or repeat parts of the grammar; or recite vocabularies under one head; or vary a phrase; or imitate a piece of an oration or poet, the master acting as referee and judge. Every scholar must 'either speak in Latin, or be enforced to hold his tongue' during these proceedings, which probably reduces the clamour somewhat.

After an hour or so of 'bickering with one another, concerning the grammar niceties collected in their commonplace books,' this artificially stimulated interest begins to flag, and the master judges it is time

to stop. The winning side now occupies the upper seats in the school, turning out their defeated opponents 'with a hissing disgrace'; but next Friday they will themselves have to defend their title under a similar penalty.

But one thing now stands between the school and freedom. Quiet having with difficulty been restored, the victor of the week advances up the centre of the school to the master's chair; and in his most elegant Latin asks, 'Master, wilt thou give me my reward?' whereupon he receives at the master's hands some small recognition of his scholastic prowess and good behaviour. As at modern prize-givings, the school's pent-up feelings find vent in tumultuous applause and cheering, and after prayers and an unusually perfunctory salute to the master, the boys disperse noisily, free at last from their long ordeal.

And as they disappear from his sight as from ours, he ponders, as well he may, what they will become when they leave his charge for good. With the eye of faith he sees them growing up and making their way in the world, destined perhaps to become famous and so to shed reflected lustre on himself. Will it fall to his lot to have trained a Drake or a Sidney, a scholar perhaps like Camden, Holinshed, or Hakluyt, or even perchance (he dallies with the pleasing thought) a Spenser or a Shakespeare? It is a commonplace that original genius goes unrecognized at school; but so dreaming he realizes that in spite of all its toil and disappointment, his profession, though the worst paid, is still the most richly rewarded in the world.

The boy, however, goes cheerily on his way, accepting what is done for him as a matter of course, with no thought of gratitude or of the future so much as entering his head. And although boys no longer treat masters as their natural enemies and Fear is no longer lord of the schoolroom, the human boy is still the most conservative creature in the world, and boy-nature remains to-day very much what it was three centuries and more ago.

PUNISHMENT

The stalwart master at Louth Grammar School endeavours to carry out the precept above, 'He that spareth the rod hateth his son' (Proverbs xiii. 24).

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